



J. Wale inv. & del.

J. B. Müller sc.

The Death of JULIUS CÆSAR.

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THE
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME
TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,
To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

V O L. XIV.

By Mr CREVIER, *Professor of Rhetorick in
the College of Beauvais, being the Continuation of
Mr ROLLIN's Work.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

The SECOND EDITION.

Illustrated with Maps, and Copper Plates.

L O N D O N:

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MDCCCLIV.

A LIST of the CONSULS NAMES, and
the YEARS comprehended in this Vo-
LUME.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR II.

P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS. A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Q. FUFIVS CALENUS.

P. VATINIUS.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR III.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

No Colleague.

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR V.

M. ANTONIUS.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

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of

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mus

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Continuation of the XLIV. Book.

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JULIUS II. SERVILIUS, Consuls.

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A. R. 74.
A.D. C. 48.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR II.

P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS.

*Foolish pre-
sumption
and cruelty
of Pompey's
partisans.
Plut.
Pomp.
Cæsar de B.
Ch. I III.*

GREAT was the confidence of Pompey's party after the action of Dyrrachium. From that time both officers and soldiers looked on themselves as compleatly victorious, and on that account reported every where the advantages they had gained, and the news of Cæsar's retreat. This confidence was attended by as great rashness and folly: For how otherwise are to be accounted for those warm contests, which were carried great lengths, between Lentulus Spinther, Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Metellus Scipio, for the High Priesthood, which Cæsar was in possession of? These three competitors, for a dignity which there was not the least prospect would be vacant, pleaded their several causes, alledged their several titles and pretensions, and madly divided the spoils of an enemy, whose triumph they were shortly to grace by their flight, or death.

This instance of presumption, all extravagant as it appears, was not the only one, and examples of the like madness were very frequent in Pompey's camp. Some hired houses
near



near the Forum, as more convenient to solicit the employments of the ensuing year ; whilst others were making votes in the very army. The deputation of Hirrus, sent against the Parthians, occasioned great uneasiness ; because Pompey, to induce him to accept of this commission, had promised him the Pretorship, notwithstanding his absence : And such as aspired at this office took it much amiss, and complained publicly, that a promise of a place should be made to any one candidate, which consequently must put the rest under the necessity of making greater interest, to prevent their miscarrying. They also divided the booty among them, and L. Lentulus, who was Consul the preceding year, took for his share the house of Hortensius, son of the famous Orator of that name, and who had a command in the opposite party ; with Cæsar's gardens on the banks of the Tiber, and his country house near Baiæ in Campania.

Nor did revenge less employ their thoughts than ambition and plunder. This was not confined to such only as had taken up arms against them : whoever had staid in Italy was to be esteemed and treated as an enemy. The ^a proscription was actually drawn up, not for the condemnation of particular persons, but of each particular rank of persons. And Domitius's proposal was, that after the victory, all the Senators in Pompey's army and camps should be appointed judges in what manner to proceed in regard to those who had staid in Italy, or who had appeared cool, or shewn any indiffe-

^a Non nominatim, sed generatim proscriptio. . . . informat. *Cic. ad Att. XI. 6.*

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

rence to the cause ; and that three billets should be given to these judges, one for acquittance, another for condemnation, and the third for a pecuniary fine. In a word, nothing was thought on but honours and profit, or vengeance ; nor did they consider by what method they were to conquer, but what advantage they should make of victory.

Their murmurs at the prudent delay of their general.

The consequence of this their manner of thinking was, that every delay became insupportable to them ; and every one was forward in blaming Pompey's really prudent management to avoid coming to action, and his endeavours to harass the enemy by fatigue and want of provisions. 'Twas commonly said, that he had a mind to make the most of his command, and to keep in a manner as his body-guards, and in a kind of slavery, Senators and persons of Consular dignity, whose rank entitled them to the command of nations : And in this sense Domitius Ahenobarbus continually called him Agamemnon, and King of Kings. Favonius, that extravagant imitator of Cato, asked if at least for that year they might be permitted to eat of the Tusculine figs. And when they were about to impeach Afranius, for having given up Spain to Cæsar, in consideration of a sum of money ; he seemed surpris'd that the managers of a prosecution of this kind against him, should take no notice of the vendor of provinces.

These reproaches were the more severe, as

• Postremò omnes aut de honoribus suis, aut de præmiis pecuniæ, aut de persequendis inimicis agebant ; nec quibus rationibus supera-

re possent, sed quemadmodum uti victoriâ deberent cogitabant. *Cæs. de B. Civil.* III. 83.

they

they were not wholly without foundation ; and self-interest had some share in this seeming circumspection, and its consequential delays. Zeal for public liberty was not Pompey's only motive ; he greatly considered himself through the whole affair, and his scheme was to continue the Director, and perhaps the Governor of the Republic : For this reason he was much alarmed when he was informed of the intention of his cavalry ; which being composed of the flower of the Roman Nobility, exhorted each other to be expeditious in the destruction of Cæsar, that they might the sooner effect Pompey's ruin, and by that means establish the Roman liberty.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.
Secret views of Pompey in such delays.
Plut.
Pomp, & Cat.

This was also Cato's scheme, but he pursued it not so precipitately ; and Pompey, who could not but know it, relied greatly on his friendship in case of a miscarriage, but feared his resentment, should he succeed. This was the reason why he never gave him any important employ ; and that, when he set out in pursuit of Cæsar, he left Cato at Dyrrachium with the baggage.

He leaves Cato at Dyrrachium. Reasons for this conduct.

It must however be allowed in Pompey's justification on this last article, that Cato was not a fit person to be present at an engagement between fellow-citizens. He certainly did not want for courage and magnanimity ; nor was any one more capable of inspiring the troops with ardour. This he had made appear, at a time when the exhortations of Pompey and the other chiefs had proved ineffectual : For, when it came to his turn to speak, he expatiated with such vehemence and enthusiasm, on liberty, on their country, on a contempt of death, and on the assistance of the Gods, protectors of justice, that he was interrupted by repeated acclamations.

A. R. 704
 Ant. C. 48.

The effect of this discourse was, that they performed wonders against the enemy, and gained the victory near Dyrrachium. Yet this steady man, of such austere principles, was most tenderly and compassionately affected by the effusion of blood of his fellow-citizens. When his exhortations had had all the success that could be hoped for, at a time when every one rejoiced and triumphed in the victory, Cato shed tears; and lamenting the republic's misfortune to lose so many brave citizens, murdered by each other, he wrapped his head in his manile, and retired to his tent. This circumstance justified Pompey in not taking him with him, when things seemed to be drawing towards a general engagement.

Cicero remains at Dyrrachium, his sharp and peevish rallies.

Another illustrious person was also left at Dyrrachium, whose absence imported not much to affairs, and that was Cicero: He was not well; and besides, he was of a character which rendered him rather troublesome than useful in camp. He was not only timorous, and nothing of a soldier, but he appeared dissatisfied, chagrined, thoughtful and melancholy at the mistakes of his party, which were but too obvious to one of his penetration: Nor did he confine himself to this silent disapprobation of their measures; but frequently in his conversation gave proof, that he repented he had so far engaged, and even sometimes made such severe reflections, as could not be very agreeable either to the situation of affairs, or to people's humours.

Thus, when he first arrived, being told he was come very late; "How late?" says he, "I see nothing in readiness."

Mention has elsewhere been made of those
 Allo-

Allobrogian deserters, to whom Pompey gave so kind a reception, as even to promise them the freedom of the city. This promise gave room for a most severe sarcasm of Cicero's on Pompey ; “^a What an extraordinary man is this ! says he ; he promises to introduce the Gauls into a city, which he cannot restore to its own proper inhabitants.”

Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, had followed Cæsar's interests. Pompey, intending to pique Cicero, ask'd him, Where was his son-in-law ? “ He is, replied Cicero, with your Father-in-law.”

'Tis easy to judge, that these, and many such sayings, displeased Pompey. He complained of it, and went so far one time as to say, “^b I wish Cicero would go over to the enemy that he might learn to fear us.”

Being thus disposed to each other, 'tis to be believed this separation gave neither of them any great uneasiness ; but rather, that Cicero's indisposition, which obliged him to stay at Dyrrachium, was very opportune.

However, if he and Cato had accompanied Pompey, perhaps they might have enabled him to withstand the pressing instances of all the rest who unanimously insisted on fighting ; this might have been effected by the regard the one paid to the effusion of his countrymen's blood, and by the timidity and diffidence of the other. For ^c Pompey being left alone,

^a *Hominem bellum ! Gal- transcat, ut nos timeat. Id. lis civitatem promittit alienam, nobis nostram non potest reddere. Macrob. Sat. II. 3. ibid.*

^b *Cupio ad hostes Cicero* ^c *Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ λέγοντες, ἄνδρα δόξης ἤτονα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τῆς φίλης αἰδοῦς τὸν Πομπηίου ἐξελεύσαντο*

A. P. 714
Ant. C. 49.

found himself too weak to oppose complaints and solicitations, which were almost become universal. He was of too generous a disposition to think of exposing himself to the contempt of his friends; and though their common safety depended on it, he had not the heart to discontent them: This made him renounce a scheme dictated by prudence, to pursue a plan suggested by passion, and the avarice of those which were about him; “A fault not
“to be pardoned, says Plutarch, in a common
“pilot, how much less in one who had the
“command of so many legions, and of so
“many nations? That physician, adds he,
“is commended, who indulges not the irregu-
“lar appetite of his patient; and yet Pompey
“yielded to the desires of a set of people
“whose heads were apparently turned.”

*Cæsar en-
deavours to
come to a
general en-
gagement.
Cæsar.*

Nothing could have been more suitable to Cæsar's inclinations. Ever since the armies had been in sight of each other, he had been seeking an opportunity to draw on a general engagement. His troops were now no longer fatigued, and had also recovered from the consternation the different actions at Dyrrachium had thrown them into; therefore his first step was, to draw out his army in order of battle at the head of his camp: But perceiving that this had no effect on Pompey, who still main-

το ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ ἐλπίσι καὶ ὁρ-
μαῖς ἱσχυροῦνται, περιμει-
νν τὰς ἀρίστες λογισμὰς. ὁ-
πει ἔσσι πλεονεκτητή, μή-
τις τισι ταν ἰδίων καὶ θύαμων
ἀνδραγατοῖσι στρατηγῶ παθεῖν

ἦν προσῆκον. ἡ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱα-
τρῶν τὰς μηδελίας χαρίζομέ-
νες ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπήνεσεν.
αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ νοσῶντι τῆς στρατιᾶς
ἐνέδωκεν, δέισας ἐπὶ σωτη-
ρίᾳ λυπηρὸς γέεσθαι. *Plut.*

* The text is *στρατηγίας*, but the sense seems to require *στρατιᾶς*, as has been observed in the last London edition.

tained

JULIUS II. SERVILIUS, Consuls.

9

tained his post on the eminences, he each day advanced nearer, at the same time taking care not to come to the very foot of the hills, lest the enemy should have too great an advantage over him, on account of their situation. By this conduct, which must be allowed to be bold, but can never be reckoned rash, he animated and gave fresh courage to his soldiers, who were now convinced the enemy declined and were afraid to come to an engagement.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Cæsar's cavalry was much inferior to Pompey's : he had but a thousand horse against seven thousand : To obviate this inequality, he made use of a method, which he had seen practised by the Germans, and had been for some time in use among the Romans, on the like emergencies. He pick'd out the strongest and nimblest of his foot-soldiers, and accustomed them to fight between the ranks of his cavalry. By their assistance his thousand horse was a match for Pompey's seven thousand ; and they actually got the better in a skirmish that happened between them.

Pompey, however, seemed to hold his resolution not to quit the hills, where it was impossible for him to be attacked. Cæsar despairing to draw him to a battle, resolved to decamp ; in hopes, that by frequently shifting his ground, he might the better be supplied with provisions ; and in expectation, that as the enemy would not fail following him, in the frequent marches he should make, he might perhaps find an opportunity of attacking them, and forcing them to fight. Accordingly the order for marching was given, and the tents struck, when Cæsar perceived that Pompey's army, which had quitted their entrenchments, had advanced

Pompey after many delays, advances to battle.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

vanced further towards the plain than usual, so that he might engage them at a less disadvantage: Whereupon he cried aloud to his soldiers, “ Let’s no longer think of marching; now is the time for fighting, so long wished for; let us not miss the opportunity.”

Pompey’s real design was to draw on a battle, and he had no other intent in advancing. This resolution had been taken some days; and he boasted in the council of war to put Cæsar’s legions to flight without striking a blow: presuming, that as soon as the armies should be formed, his cavalry, which was exceeding good as well as numerous, by falling on the enemy’s right wing, would be able to out-flank them, and so surround them; which must infallibly occasion the immediate rout of that wing, and consequently of the rest of Cæsar’s troops.

Labienus commended much this scheme of Pompey; and that there might be no doubt of victory, he added a very disadvantageous description of Cæsar’s troops, pretending they were but the shadow of those old legions, which had conquered Gaul and Germany; that the old soldiers were dead by various accidents, and had been replaced by new levies made in a hurry in Cisalpin Gaul: Lastly, that if Cæsar had brought into Greece any remains of his veteran troops, they must have perished in the battles of Dyrrachium. To close this fine harangue, he took an oath, which he profered to all that were present, never to return to camp otherwise than victorious. Pompey accepted it, and the rest followed his example. This gave them great spirits; as if it were as easy to beat an enemy, as to swear to do it. In this disposition, and under these advantageous circumstances,

stances, Pompey's troops advanced to battle. Pompey's order of battle was good, and well judged. In the center and on the two flanks he placed all his veterans, and distributed the less expert between the wings and the main body. Scipio was in the center, with the legions he had brought out of Syria. On one wing commanded Lentulus, either he who had been Consul the preceding year, or Spinther; on the other, Domitius Ahenobarbus. Pompey posted himself on the left wing, because from thence he intended to make the attack which was to gain the day; and for the same reason he had there assembled all his horse, slingers and archers; of which his right wing had no need, being covered by the river Enipeus.

Cæsar likewise divided his army into three bodies, under three commanders. Domitius Calvinus being in the center, Mark Anthony on the left, and on the right P. Sylla, the same who many years before had been accused as an accomplice with Catiline, and whom Cicero defended. Cæsar took his post on the right, opposite Pompey, at the head of the tenth, his favourite legion, which had always distinguished itself by its bravery and affection to its General. As he observed the enemy's numerous horse to be all drawn to one spot, he guessed at Pompey's intention: to obviate which, he made a draught of six cohorts from his rear line, formed them into a separate body, and concealed them behind his right wing; with instructions not to throw their javelins on the approach of Pompey's horse, (as was customary with men of spirit, the sooner to be able to draw their swords) but to keep them in their hands,

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.
Battle of
Pharsalia.
Cæf. de B.
Civ. l. III.
Plut.
Pomp. &
Cæf.
Appian.
Dio.

A. R. 704.
An. J. C. 48.

hands, and push them directly in the faces and eyes of the enemy ; who, as they piqued themselves on their beauty and comeliness, would be most sensible of those sort of wounds, and the easier put into disorder. He concluded by declaring to them, that he depended principally on them for victory.

The numbers on each side were very unequal. I have already more than once mentioned the great superiority of Pompey's cavalry. With respect to the infantry, Cæsar, who speaks only of the Roman troops, reckons his adversary had forty-five thousand foot, when he himself had but twenty-two thousand. The auxiliaries perhaps on each side exceeded the number of Romans : and this may have given rise to the exaggerated accounts of some, who reckon three hundred, and others four hundred thousand fighting men at the battle of Pharsalia. But to consider only the national troops ; what enemy, as Plutarch observes, could have withstood seventy thousand Romans, commanded by Cæsar and Pompey, acting with unity and harmony ? and how great madness for so many thousand citizens to turn those formidable arms against each other, which had already conquered the better part of the world, and were capable of subduing the rest ?

Plut. Pom.

Perhaps these very reflections were made by some Philosophers at that very time ; but it is certain the two leaders thought quite otherwise : their thoughts were wholly bent on conquest, and they endeavoured to inspire their soldiers with the like sentiments, by the warmest and liveliest exhortations. “ As you have drawn
Appian. “ this action on yourselves, said Pompey to
“ his

“ his party, and would force me to fight, A. R. 704.
An. J. C. 48.
“ you consequently are answerable for the suc-
“ cefs. And indeed, what advantages have
“ you not over your enemy? your numbers,
“ your vigour, a late victory, all assure a
“ speedy and easy conquest of those broken
“ remains of legions, composed only of men
“ worn out with age, harassed by fatigue,
“ already beaten, and accustomed to fly be-
“ fore you. Above all, consider the justice
“ of your cause. You are engaged in the de-
“ fence of liberty, supported by the laws, the
“ Senate, the flower of the Roman Knighthood,
“ in a word, by every person of rank and
“ worth, united against a robber and oppres-
“ sor of his country. Shew then on this oc-
“ casion all that ardour and detestation of ty-
“ ranny that Romans ought to be inspired
“ with.”

Cæsar maintained that outward moderation, Cæsar.
which he so well knew how and when to put
on, and insisted on nothing so strongly to his
soldiers, as his frequent and unsuccessful en-
deavours for peace. He appealed to them
how many open steps he had taken with this
only view; hoping thereby to avoid wasting
the blood of his associates in victory, and
wishing to spare the common-wealth the loss
of one of the armies. It is easy to perceive,
what impression a discourse so insinuating must
make; they all wished for fight with an ardour
which was visible in their very countenances:
so that nothing now remained for Cæsar but
to give an order for sounding the charge,
which he did accordingly.

An

A. R. 704.
A. J. C. 48.

An old soldier in his army, called Craſtinus, who had ſignalised himſelf on many occaſions, began the attack at the head of a hundred and twenty volunteers : and turning to Cæſar, “ General, ſays he, this day you ſhall be ſatisfied with my behaviour, and whether I live “ or die, I will deſerve your commendations.” So ſaying he march’d up to the enemy.

Between the two armies there was an interval ſufficient for the onſet : but Pompey had given his troops orders to keep their ground, that Cæſar’s army might have all that way to come. His ſcheme was, that the enemies ranks might be broken, and themſelves put out of breath, by having ſo far to run ; of which diſorder he hoped to make an advantage. Cæſar, in his commentaries, thinks that herein Pompey committed a miſtake, and gives this good reaſon for it. That the courage of a ſoldier is animated by motion, whereas, on the contrary, reſt and inactivity abate his natural ardour.

Cæſar’s ſoldiers entirely defeated Pompey’s hopes by their good diſcipline and experience. For perceiving the enemy did not ſtir, they halted of their own accord in the miſt of their career, and having taken a moment’s breath, put themſelves a ſecond time in motion, marched up in good order, flung their javelins, and then betook themſelves to their ſwords. The ſame method was obſerved by Pompey’s troops, who vigorously ſuſtained the attack.

At this inſtant Pompey’s horſe, accompanied by the archers and ſlingers, attacked Cæſar’s, and having compelled them to give ground, began

began to extend themselves to the left, in order to flank the infantry. Whereupon Cæsar gave the appointed signal to the six cohorts, who fell on the enemy with such fury as to give an immediate check to this seeming victorious cavalry. Cæsar from time to time repeated the order he had given them, crying out, "Soldier^a, strike the enemy in the face." The surprise, the glittering of the weapons in their very eyes, the horrible disfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to strike these young gentlemen with such a panic, that instead of defending themselves, they put their hands before their faces; and being presently shamefully defeated, not only gave ground, but fled in great disorder to the neighbouring mountains. The archers and slingers being thus abandoned were cut to pieces.

The six cohorts, not content with this success, immediately attacked the enemies left wing in rear. Cæsar, perceiving the victory so far advanced, to complete it, brought up his third line, which till then had not engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked, in front by fresh troops, and in rear by the victorious cohorts, could no longer resist, but fled to their camp. Thus as Cæsar had foretold, those detached cohorts were the principal means of the victory; which being no longer to be doubted, as an instance of his usual clemency, he ordered quarter to be given to all the^b citizens, and to kill none but foreigners: So that the greatest slaughter was among Pompey's auxiliaries. The Romans, having nothing to fear, kept

^a Miles, feri faciem. *Flor.*

^b Parce civibus. *Flor.*

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

their ground till joined by the conquerors. This victory, whereby Cæsar became master of the universe, cost him less than most he had gained over the Gauls. It must be allowed, that on this occasion Pompey was not himself; and it may be ask'd, What became of that famous warrior, whose youth had been graced by so many triumphs?

*Surprising
conduct of
Pompey.
His flight.*

As soon as he saw his cavalry routed, he absolutely lost his reason. Instead of thinking how to remedy this disorder, by rallying such as fled, or by opposing fresh troops to stop the progress of the conquerors; dismayed and dispirited by this first blow, he returned to camp, and in his tent waited the issue of an event, which 'twas his business to endeavour to render favourable. There he remained for some moments, without speaking, till being told that the camp was attacked, "What! says he, are we then pursued to our very entrenchments?" And immediately quitting his armour for a habit more suitable to his ill fortune, he privately withdrew.

*Cæsar forces
the ene-
my's camp.*

The battle lasted till noon, the weather being extremely hot: Notwithstanding which, Cæsar's soldiers, encouraged by the example of their General, who thought his victory not compleat till he was master of the enemy's camp, boldly prepared to attack it. They quickly carried their point, spite of the opposition of the cohorts which were left for its defence; and particularly of a great number of Thracians and other Barbarians, who made a very stout resistance. I take no notice of such troops as had there sought refuge from the field of battle; they were in too great a consterna-
tion

*Suet. Cæs.
n. 60.*

tion to think of any thing more than a safe retreat. A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Cæsar, seeing the field and camp strewed with dead, could not but be affected by so melancholy a prospect; and these sentiments of humanity being supported by a desire of justifying to himself and to all present, so terrible a carnage, of which he alone had been the cause, he spoke these words, on the testimony of Afinius Pollio, who that day fought for him: *Remark-
able saying
of Cæsar.*

“^a They would have it so. Notwithstanding his great exploits, Cæsar had been condemned, had he not implored the assistance of his soldiers.”

On entering Pompey's camp, Cæsar perceived repeated proofs of the blind presumption and madness of his adversaries. On all sides were to be seen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and side-boards loaded with gilt and other plate; every thing gave proofs of the highest luxury, and seemed rather the preparatives for a banquet and rejoicings on a victory than for a battle.

Cæsar's troops might here well have expected some respite; and doubtless the plunder of so rich a camp had powerful charms: but still something remained to be done to render the victory compleat. Some considerable bodies of the conquered army having retired to the adjacent mountains, Cæsar prevailed on his soldiers to join with him in their pursuit, in order to compel them to surrender. He began by inclosing them by a line drawn at the foot *He pursues
such as had
fled to the
adjacent
mountains,
and compels
them to sur-
render.*

^a Hoc voluerunt. Tan- exercitu auxilium petiissem.
tis rebus gestis C. Cæsar Suet. Cæs. n. 30.
condemnatus essem, nisi ab

A. R. 704.
A.D. C. 48.

of the mountain ; but they quickly abandoned a post, which, for want of water, was not tenable, and endeavoured to reach the city of Larissa : Whereupon Cæsar, dividing his army, left one part in Pompey's camp, sent back another part to his own camp, and having with four legions taken a nearer road than that by which the enemy passed, he found means to intercept them, and after six miles march drew up in order of battle, between them and the city where they thought to shelter themselves. However these unhappy fugitives once more found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. Notwithstanding Cæsar's troops must necessarily be greatly fatigued by fighting the whole day, Cæsar before night had flung up some works sufficient to prevent the enemy, who still maintained their post on the mountain, from having any communication with the river ; as by this step they were cut off from all hopes of relief or of escaping, they sent deputies to the conqueror, offering to surrender at discretion. Affairs continued in this situation all that night, of which some few Senators, who had accompanied them, took the advantage to make their escape.

At break of day they all, by Cæsar's order, came down into the plain, and delivered up their arms ; humbly imploring his goodness and suing for mercy. Cæsar spoke to them with great mildness, and to alleviate their apprehensions, cited various instances of his clemency, which he had on so many occasions made evident. In fact, he gave them their lives, and forbid his soldiers to offer them any violence, or to take any thing from them. He then sent for the legions which had passed the

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the night in camp; to relieve those which had accompanied him in the pursuit; and being determined to follow Pompey, began his march, and arrived the same day at Larissa.

Cæsar's loss in this great action was no more, by his own account, than two hundred men, (others say twelve hundred) and thirty captains: among these latter, he regretted, and particularly honoured Crastinus, whose gallantry and intrepidity, marching up to battle, has been taken notice of. This brave officer, fighting regardless of danger, received a wound in the mouth from a sword, the point of which came out at the hind-part of his head. Cæsar caused his body to be searched for, and having dressed and adorned it with all military decorations, he ordered a separate tomb to be made for him; thinking it not fitting that one, who had so well distinguished himself by his courage and services, should be blended with the common dead.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

*Cæsar's
loss in the
battle of
Pharsalia.
Cæf. Ap-
pian. Plut.*

Pompey's army was completely defeated, the whole being destroyed or dispersed. The number of the slain, amongst which were forty Knights and ten Senators, is reckoned by Cæsar to amount to fifteen thousand, as well Romans as auxiliaries; one hundred and eighty colours were taken, and nine eagles: Twenty four thousand men surrendered themselves after the battle, the greatest part of which, I mean the soldiers and subalterns, entered into Cæsar's service. As to the Senators and Roman Knights who fell into his hands, there is no doubt but they had liberty to retire whither they had a mind, or at least had the choice of their place of exile. Dio indeed says, that Cæsar caused those to be executed, who having been once

*His gener-
osity after
victory.*

A. R. 704.
A. C. 48. pardoned, had a second time taken up arms.
But the authority of this incorrect writer ought not to have the preference to all other accounts, which agree in commending Cæsar's clemency, and bear testimony of his being too noble and generous to fully his victory, by the death of any one Roman killed in cool blood; and indeed I find but one person of rank named, who was killed under arms. This was Domitius Ahenobarbus, who being overtaken by some horsemen, in his flight towards the mountains, was killed, according to Cicero, by Anthony's order: Nay Cæsar's generosity went so far as to burn, without reading, the letters which Pompey had received from several, who, not being able or willing to follow him, were nevertheless glad to testify their inclination and zeal for his party. "Although, says Seneca, he was perfectly moderate in his anger, yet he rather chose to deprive himself of the power of resenting. He thought the most obliging and agreeable method of pardoning, was to be ignorant of the nature of the offence."

He is well
pleased
with sav-
ing Brutus.
Plut. Brut.

Among so many acts of clemency, there was one at least to which he willingly consented, and he certainly made no difficulty in pardoning Brutus. He had a particular affection for that young Roman, from the probability, as I have said elsewhere, of his being his son; and he always preserved a great esteem for his mother Servilia, even after all intrigue had ceas'd between them. He carried this affection for Brutus so far, as to recommend to his soldiers

^a Quamvis moderatè so- vit genus veniæ, nescire
leret irasci, maluit tamen non quid quisque peccasset. *Sen.*
posse. Gratissimum puta- *de ira.* II. 23.

when

when they were going to action, not to kill him on any account ; to make him prisoner in case he was willing to surrender, but if he refused, to give him his liberty. Brutus, who had fled from Pompey's camp to Larissa, wrote to Cæsar from thence ; who was extremely pleased at hearing from him, and ordered him to wait his coming.

The Princes and foreign nations, who had taken the party opposite to Cæsar's, no less experienced his mildness ; all those who implored his mercy got off for a sum of money, or some such fine. It even cost the Athenians less, whom, when their deputies came to solicit their pardon, he was content to reproach in the following manner : “ How long, said he, having merited death by your degeneracy, will you owe your safety to the glory of your ancestors ? ”

So great an event as the battle of Pharsalia could not fail being decorated by some accounts of prodigies, omens and other marvellous circumstances, the effect of the superstition of those early times. I shall make no mention of many trifling observations, but think there are two remarkable facts, the one related by Cicero, the other on the testimony of T. Livy, which ought not to be omitted.

Cicero relates, that whilst he was at Dyrrachium, a rower in the fleet which the Rhodians sent to Pompey's assistance foretold, that in less than thirty days there would be a deluge of blood in Greece ; that Dyrrachium would be precipitately abandoned ; that all the provisions in the city would be plundered and destroyed ; that in their flight they would have the dismal prospect of cities in flames, and that the

The battle of Pharsalia foretold at Dyrrachium, and known at Padua, in a very extraordinary and almost miraculous manner.

Cic. de Divin. I. 63, 69. II. 114.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

fleet itself would return to Rhodes. Cicero was informed of this prediction before the event; as were also Varro and Cato, by Coponius the Rhodian Admiral, a man of sense and education. A few days after Labienus came from Pharfalia to Dyrrachium with an account of Pompey's defeat, and all the circumstances attending this misfortune, which exactly confirmed the Rhodian rower's predictions.

'Tis not to be denied but that at first view there is something astonishing in the account of this prediction; but on a nearer examination, Cicero himself accounts for it very naturally: "We all know, says he, that the two armies
" were in fight of each other in the plains of
" Thessaly, and were greatly apprehensive for
" the success. This apprehension, without
" doubt, made a strong impression on the
" rower's spirits, and disturbed his reason. Is
" it then to be wondered, that what he feared
" might happen when he was in his senses, he
" should presuppose in a fit of lunacy?"

Plut. Cæf.
A. Gell.
XV. 18.
Dio.

The other fact, related by Plutarch and some other writers on the testimony of T. Livy, is still more extraordinary. In Padua, a certain C. Cornelius, who had the reputation of great skill in the pretended science of augury, being actually busied in consulting birds, knew the precise time of the battle, and told the bystanders, that that instant he was speaking, the two armies were engaged; then proceeding in his observations, he on a sudden rose up briskly, and cried with a loud voice, "Cæsar, thou
" art conqueror." Every one present was under the greatest astonishment: whereupon Cornelius, taking the chaplet which he wore from off his head, swore never to put it on again till the

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the exact and literal accomplishment of his predictions had justified the rules of his art. Livy was Cornelius's countryman, and was well acquainted with him, and, as we are told by Plutarch, positively affirmed the fact.

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Ant. C. 48.

Permit me here to observe, in the first place, that we have not this account from the first hand ; and that Plutarch, though otherwise an author of great credit, not being here the original, may, through inattention, have either altered or omitted some circumstances which might entirely vary the case. In the second place, Livy, whom Plutarch has followed in this relation, was but in his eleventh year when the thing happened, which takes much from the credit of his testimony. In fine, I think it no ways repugnant to the system of the Christian religion to suppose, that the devils, whom God has sometimes permitted to effect wonders, to delude such as took a pleasure in being imposed on, should have brought from one country to another, however distant, the knowledge of facts the instant they happened. This seems to be the best and only way of accounting for many like events, which it would be difficult absolutely to deny. The scattered remains of Pompey's party, after their defeat at Pharsalia, spread themselves almost over the whole earth ; but he himself, as their chief, deserves our first attention.

Pompey, who had made his escape from the camp with few attendants, went off at first full speed ; but perceiving he was not pursued, he slackened his pace, and abandoned himself to

Pompey's
flight.

Plut.

Pomp.

* Απὴν καὶ ἡσυχίαν, ἐν λαμβάνειν ἄνθρωπον ἔτη τέτταλοῖς μὲν, οἷος εἰκὸς τὰς καὶ τριάκοντα νικᾷ καὶ κέραι.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

the most melancholy reflections. And in truth what must be the thoughts of a man, who after thirty four years constant success, in his old age was for the first time made sensible of the disgrace of being defeated and put to flight? How many conflicts, what wars had he not engaged in, to attain that point of glory and power, which he that instant fell from? What an alteration in his circumstances! One moment, he appeared escorted by an infinite number of men and horses, and attended by a numerous fleet; and the next he retreats, in so mean a condition, and with so few followers, as even to escape the search of his enemies.

Full of these afflicting ideas, Pompey arrived at Larissa; thence passing through the vale of Tempe, and pursuing the course of the river Peneus, he found a fisherman's hut, in which he passed the night. At day-break he went on board a little bark, with such of his attendants as were freemen, but sent back the slaves that had hitherto accompanied him. This enabled him to get to sea; and keeping under the shore, as there was no venturing out to sea in so small a vessel, he descry'd a ship of some burthen, which seemed preparing to sail. The master of this ship, who was a Roman, and was called Peticius, Plutarch tells us had dreamt, that he saw Pompey come to him in a mean and sad plight. As he was relating this dream

τεῖν ἀπάλῃσι εἰθισμένον, ἥτις
οὐ καὶ φυγῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐν
γῆρα λαμψάνοισα πεῖραι· ἐν-
νοούμενον δὲ ἐξ ὅσων ἀγῶνι καὶ
πολέμῳ ἡνυχημένον ἀποβαλὼν
ὥρα μία δόξαι καὶ δύναιμι *, ἥ

πρὸ μικρῶ τοσούτοις ὅπλοις, καὶ
ἵπποις καὶ σόλοις δορυφορούμενον
ἀπέρχεται μικρὸς ὥτ' ὡ γελωνῶς
καὶ συνεσταλμένος ὥστε λανθάνειν
ζητόντας τῆς πολεμίας. Plut.

* There seems here to be something wanting in the text; but the sense is clear.

to some company, a sailor came to let him know that he descry'd a bark, from whence signals were made to bring too. Peticius had no sooner looked that way, than he knew Pompey by the description he had had of him in his dream. He smote his head through despair, and having sent his longboat for him, took him on board, together with the two * Lentulus's and Favonius. He immediately weighed anchor, but soon after made for shore, to take in Dejotarus King of Galatia, who hailed him, and made signals to be received.

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Ant. C. 48.

* *L. Lentulus Consul of the preceding year, and P. Lentulus Spinther.*

The master prepared as good an entertainment for these illustrious fugitives, as his circumstances would admit of. When 'twas time to serve up, it being customary with the Romans to bath, before they sat down to table, Favonius observed, that Pompey, for want of slaves, was washing himself; whereupon he made what haste he could to him, and no ways apprehensive of disgracing the dignity of the Pretorship, which he had officiated, he then, and ever after during the voyage, rendered him the same offices, and waited upon him, as his slave; and that with so frank and noble an air, that some one who saw him, made him the application of a Greek verse, the signification of which is: “^a Doubtless it may well be said that every thing becomes persons of high birth.”

Pompey, being come before * Amphipolis, * Emboli, would not enter the city, but issued a proclamation enjoining all the youth of the province to join him in arms; perhaps with intent to conceal his real design of retreating much fur-

Cæs.

* Φειῶ, τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἅπαν καλόν.

ther,

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

ther, or may be, to try if he could not maintain his ground in Macedonia. Here he lay one night at anchor, sending to what friends he had in the town, and raising all the money he possibly could. But being informed of Cæsar's approach, he departed with all expedition; and went to * Mitylene, where he had left his wife Cornelia, far from the clamour of war and arms.

*He goes to
Mitylene to
fetch his
wife.*

Cornelia expected the news of a complete victory, and had been induced to think so from the flattering accounts she had received, that the battles of Dyrrachium had decided the affair. She imagined that Pompey had nothing more to do, than to pursue Cæsar who was no longer able to face him. Such were her expectations, when a messenger arrived, who not having spirits to pay her the usual compliment, and whose tears, more than his words, proclaimed the greatness of their misfortunes, advised her to dispatch, if she was willing to see Pompey with but one ship, and even that not his own. At these words, Cornelia, whose grief became more violent, as being unexpected, fainted away, and lay a considerable time without any signs of life. At length recovering herself, and reflecting 'twas not then the proper time to indulge her sorrows, she ran quite thro' the city to the sea-side. Pompey received her in his arms, without speaking a word, and thus supporting her, prevented her falling into a second fit.

Cornelia, in her despair, imputed to herself her husband's miscarriage. "The condition I

* Capital city of the island of Lesbos, now called Metelia.

“ find you in, said she, I can ² never persuade A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.
 “ myself to be the effect of your fortune,
 “ which has ever been favourable, but rather
 “ of mine, which never ceases persecuting me.
 “ You are reduced to fly with a single vessel;
 “ you, who before you wedded Cornelia, ap-
 “ peared on these seas commanding five hundred
 “ sail. Why came you in search of an unfortu-
 “ nate wretch, why did you not rather leave
 “ me to my ill-fortune, which I now must put
 “ you under the necessity of sharing with me?
 “ Ah! I should have been happy, had I died
 “ before my first husband, young Crassus, pe-
 “ rished in the Parthian war; and I had done
 “ well, after that loss, to have quitted, as
 “ was then my design, this miserable life!
 “ But ’twas necessary I should survive that
 “ misfortune, and I was fatally reserved to in-
 “ troduce into Pompey’s family the ill luck
 “ that constantly attends me.”

Pompey endeavoured to comfort her, by in-
 stancing the uncertainty of human affairs. “ The
 “ constant success, which has hitherto attend-
 “ ed me, has deceived you. You relied on
 “ the continuance of that success; not reflec-
 “ ting that ³ nothing is fixed or certain to

² Ορῶ σε αἶετ, ὃ τῆς σῆς
 τύχης ἔργον ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς,
 προσεχρῆμμένον ἐνὶ σκάφει, τὸν
 πρὸ τῶν Κορινθίας γάμων πει-
 τακοσίαις ναυσὶ ταυτὴν πα-
 ραπλεύσαντα τὴν θάλασσαν.
 Τί με ἤλθεις ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἔκ ἀπέ-
 λιπες τῷ βαρεῖ δαίμονι τῇ καὶ
 σε δυσυχίας ἀναπλήσασαι το-
 σαύτης; Ως εὐτυχὴς μὲν ἂν
 ἦμην γυνή, πρὸ τοῦ Πόπλιον εἶ
 Πάριθιοις ἀπῆσαι τὸν παρθένου-

ον ἀνδρα κείμενον, ἀποθανῆσα·
 σώφρων δὲ, μείνέκεῖνοι, ὥσπερ
 ὤρμησα, τὸν ἐμαυτῆς προεμέ-
 νη βίον. Εσωζόμεν δὲ ἄρα καὶ
 Πομπηίῳ Μάγνῳ συμφορὰ γέ-
 νεσθαι.

³ Ταῦτα δεῖ φέρειν γινόμε-
 νας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τῆς τύχης ἔτε
 πειραλίαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον
 ἐκ τούτων ἀνάλαβεῖν ἐκεῖνα τοῦ
 ἐξ ἐκεῖνων ἐν ταῖς γενόμενον.

A. R. 704. " us weak mortals. 'Tis from this very un-
 Ant. C. 48. " certainty that I am induced once more to
 " try my fortune. Since I am fallen from so
 " great a height, to the low condition you
 " see me in ; why may I not from my present
 " lowness, remount to that grandeur which I
 " enjoyed so many years ?"

The Mityleneans, who had great obligations to Pompey, came and paid him the compliment of inviting him into their city ; he declined their invitation, and even advised them to submit to the conqueror ; adding, with a moderation becoming his great soul, that they need be under no apprehensions, for Cæsar was remarkable for his goodness and humanity.

*His dis-
 course with
 Cratippus
 on Provi-
 dence.*

Cratippus the philosopher came also to pay him his compliments. Pompey, as is but too frequent with persons under misfortunes, complained to him of Providence. The Philosopher, being a man of genius who knew the world, declined entering minutely into the matter, to avoid saying some disagreeable truths at a time when, in common humanity, he ought only to think of administering relief to his misfortunes. He therefore artfully changed the conversation, and talked to Pompey of what might give him better hopes. Had it been necessary, says Plutarch, to enter into an examination of the point in question, Cratippus might easily have said in answer to Pompey's complaints, that the ill government of Rome had need of absolute monarchy, as a necessary remedy : " And which way will you
 " prove, might he have said to him, that you
 " would have made a better use of success,
 " than Cæsar perhaps may do ?" This is a very judicious reflection of Plutarch, and
 that

that with which he concludes is still more so. A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.
 “^a Let’s forbear this subject ; whatever con-
 “ cerns the Divinity is beyond our comprehen-
 “ sion, and ought to admit of no dispute.”

Pompey, having taken Cornelia with him, *He conti-
nues his
journey and
determines
to seek pro-
tection in
Egypt.*
 continued his flight, steering towards the South-
 east, and stopping no longer than was necessary
 to take in provisions at the ports that occurred
 in his passage. He came before Rhodes ; but
 the Rhodians, who had sent him a noble fleet
 during his prosperity, would no longer acknow-
 ledge him, now he was become unfortunate.
 He therefore proceeded on his voyage, and the
 first city he entered was Attalia in Pamphilia.
 He was there joined by some ships of war, and
 he found means to collect about two thousand
 soldiers ; he had also the satisfaction to find,
 that his youngest son Sextus and about sixty
 Senators, who had at first been separated in
 their flight, were united there, and had formed
 an association to support their Chief.

Here he also got some intelligence of his fleet,
 which he had left in the Ionian sea. He was in-
 formed, that ’twas still united under the com-
 mand of Cato, who, with a considerable force,
 was making for Africa. This occasioned Pom-
 pey to make many bitter reflections, which were
 but too well grounded. He lamented his having
 been compelled to leave the decision of his for-
 tunes to his land-army, instead of employing his
 naval forces, wherein he had incontestably the
 advantage of his enemies ; and he thought him-
 self still less excusable, not to have taken the pre-
 caution of keeping near his fleet, where, even
 after a defeat on land, he might at once have

Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσειν ὥσπερ ἔχει τὰ τῶν θεῶν.

found

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

found an expedient to his ill success, and a force sufficient to check the conqueror's progress. Certainly, in the opinion of Plutarch, Pompey could not have committed a greater mistake, than in separating from his fleet: nor could Cæsar have given a stronger instance of his address, than in reducing his adversary to that necessity.

I have already said that Pompey had assembled some soldiers, he had likewise raised some money. But these assistances served only to facilitate his flight, not being sufficient to make any defence against Cæsar, from whose known and almost incredible activity, Pompey was in continual apprehensions of a surprise. As he had need of an asylum, where he might have time to recover himself, and leisure to make fresh preparations; he did not think any of the provinces of the empire proper for his purpose, or by any means tenable: he had every day fresh experience how ill a reception his misfortunes procured him there; and he had just received advice, that the people of Antioch had decreed, on mature deliberation; not to receive him, or any in his interest. His only remaining hope was from the Kings in alliance with and bordering on the empire. Pompey was himself inclined to retire to the Parthians. Others proposed King Juba. But Theophanes, whose advice Pompey had ever paid great attention to, made no doubt in giving Egypt the preference, which was not very distant, and whose young King would certainly respect Pompey, as the tutor appointed him by the Senate, and as his father's benefactor. Besides his age (he being then but thirteen years old, an age of mildness and innocence,

cence, too early to be acquainted with guilt) appeared to Theophanes a further reason for confiding in him. On the other hand he distrusted the Parthians, alledging their perfidy, of which Crassus had had fatal experience; and their brutal incontinence, to which it would be by no means proper to expose a person of Cornelia's youth and virtue, whose reputation would suffer by only living among people of such a character. This last consideration principally determined Pompey; whereupon the fatal resolution was taken of going to Egypt. Accordingly he left Cilicia, attended by a number of gallies and transports, and touched at the isle of Cyprus, probably to take in some additional reinforcement; where being informed that Ptolemy was at Pelusium, he steered thither his course. On his arrival he cast anchor, and sent to acquaint the young King of it, and to demand a safe reception.

Ptolemy, who was yet a minor, had not the government in his own hands: but he and his kingdom were under the direction of ministers. Pothinus an eunuch, who was then prime minister, immediately assembled the council, whose principal members and who were most in credit, were Theodotus of the isle of Chio, master of rhetoric to the young Prince, and Achilles commander in chief of his forces. Such were the judges to whose decision Pompey submitted his fate: that same Pompey, who thought it mean and base to owe his safety to Cæsar.

Is there received and assassinated.

The opinions were divided in the council. Gratitude and pity inclined some to receive him. Whilst others, more obdurate, or more timorous, were for denying his request, and
for

A. R. 704.
A.D. J.C. 48.

for forbidding his coming into Egypt. Theodotus the rhetorician, as if he had a mind to improve the present occasion to display his eloquence, maintained, “ that both proposals
“ were equally dangerous. That to admit
“ him, was making Pompey their master, and
“ drawing on them Cæsar’s resentment: and
“ by not receiving him, they offended the
“ one, without obliging the other. That
“ therefore the only expedient left, was to
“ give him leave to land, and then kill him :
“ which would be doing Cæsar service, and
“ ridding them of any future apprehensions
“ on Pompey’s account.” Nay this rhetorician, whilst he was thus condemning to death the principal man in the world, thought it even allowable to joke on the occasion. For he concluded his discourse with a trite proverb among the Greeks : dead dogs don’t bite.

An advice so horrid in all its circumstances was however applauded ; nay more, Achilles undertook the execution of it. He took with him Septimius, by birth a Roman, and who had formerly been a Centurion in Pompey’s troops, another Roman Centurion named Salvius, and three or four guards, and getting into a bark, made sail for Pompey’s ship.

All the persons of rank who had accompanied Pompey in his flight, were on this occasion come on board his ship to be witnesses of what passed. But when they saw, in lieu of the magnificent reception Theophanes had flattered them with, a sorry fishing-boat, having on board five or six persons of no very promising aspect, they began to have some suspicions, and advised Pompey to return back. Before any thing could be determined, Achilles was

come up to them ; and at the same time the King's ships were seen making preparations for sailing, and the whole strand appeared lined with soldiers, so that it was too late to retreat ; and for them at that juncture to have shewn any diffidence, would have only helped the Egyptians to a pretence, in case they had any bad intentions. Pompey therefore was determined to run all hazards.

On their coming on board, Septimius saluted him in Latin as his General. At the same time Achilles, speaking to him in Greek, invited him into the boat, because, said he, the shallows prevented any galley's coming up to the shore. After Pompey had taken his leave of Cornelia, who wept before hand for her husband's death, he ordered two centurions, one of his freedmen named Philip, and a slave, to enter the boat before him ; and as Achilles gave him his hand to assist him in coming out of the ship, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated two verses of Sophocles, which he applied but too naturally to the present occasion. Signifying that “ a whoever goes to a
“ King's court, immediately commences his
“ slave, how free soever he might be when he
“ entred.” These were the last words he spoke to them.

The passage was pretty long from the ship to land : and as during all that time, nobody spake to him a single word, or shewed him the least mark of friendship or respect, Pompey had a mind to break the silence ; and looking Septimius in the face, “ Methinks,

^a Ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,
κείνῳ εἰ δούλος, καὶ ἐλεύθερος μολῇ.

Ant. C. 48. said he, "I remember you to have formerly
Ant. C. 43. "served under me." Septimius gave only a
nod with his head, without uttering a word,
or instancing the least civility. Whereupon
Pompey took out a paper, on which he had
minuted a short Greek speech he intended to
make to Ptolemy, and began reading it.

In this manner they came near land: and
Cornelia, whose concern had never suffered
her to lose sight of her husband, began to
conceive hopes, when she perceived the people
on the strand in a good deal of motion, as if
they crouded to receive him. That instant, as
Pompey rose, supporting himself on his freed-
man's arm, Septimus stabbed him in the back,
and was immediately seconded by Salvius and
Achillas. Pompey perceiving himself thus
beset, covered his face with his robe, and with-
out saying, or doing any thing unworthy of
himself, he with a sigh resigned himself to
fate. At this spectacle, Cornelia and her at-
endants uttered the most piercing lamenta-
tions, so as to be heard to the very shore. But
the danger they themselves were in allowed
them little leisure for their sorrows and 'twas
necessary for them to seek their safety in their
flight. They therefore immediately weighed an-
chor, and the wind proving favourable, they
escaped the pursuit of the Egyptian galleys.

Vol. II. Pompey, at the time he was killed, com-
55. Dic. pleted his fifty eighth year. His death happen-
ed the day preceding his birth-day, to wit,
on the twenty eighth of September; which day
he had some years before passed in a very dif-
ferent situation, in honourable triumph on the
reduction of the pyrates, and the defeat of King
Mithridates.

I shall

I shall not expatiate on the many reflections, which naturally arise from the circumstance of a shameful death terminating a life spent with honour and in great splendour. I shall only observe that of the three famous associates, who, to satisfy their boundless ambition, formed the triumviral league, Pompey is the second, whose death has paid the forfeit of his ambition ; nor will Cæsar long defer paying the third tribute.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.
*Reflections
on his death
and cha-
racter.*

I have endeavoured to draw Pompey's character from his actions, and the better to make it known, have made use of such observations as have occur'd to me in the ancient writers, particularly in Cicero and Plutarch. 'Twou'd therefore be a needless repetition, if here I shou'd undertake to relate the portrait ; permit me only to recollect one single circumstance, which is, the integrity of his manners, and the moderation and decorum which always regulated his conduct. A virtue rarely to be met with in so corrupt an age, and under such an affluence of fortune ; but which, such, as know how to prize merit, can never enough esteem. And this is the character Cicero bestows on him, in the account he sends Atticus of his death.

" I am ^a not surpris'd, says he, at the tragical
 " end of Pompey. Every King and all people
 " imagined his affairs so desperate, that I
 " should have expected the like event, where-
 " ever he had chanced to have fled. However

^a De Pompeii exitu mihi
 dubium nunquam fuit. Tan-
 ta enim desperatio rerum
 ejus omnium regum & po-
 pulorum animos occuparat,

ut, quocunque venisset, hoc
 putarem futurum. Non pos-
 sum ejus casum non dolere :
 hominem enim integrum, &
 castum, & gravem cognovi.

A. R. 714.
Ant. C. 48.

“ I can’t forbear lamenting his fall ; having al-
ways known him for a man highly respectable
for the integrity, purity, and dignity of his
morals.”

This moderation appeared in the transaction of all public affairs, and prevented, even where his ambition soared the highest, his carrying things to extremities, confining him in the end within the wholesome maxims of Aristocracy. Pompey was not only the observer, but the protector and support of the laws ; and when he took up arms against Cæsar, he had this particular honour, that his cause was esteemed the cause of the Senate and of the Commonwealth. He even left behind him an impression of esteem and veneration for his memory, which procured him partizans after his death, and alienated and converted into enemies of his rival, several who had been the most strongly attached to his interest.

With respect to his military talents and his conduct in command, notwithstanding I find many persons prejudiced against him on that head, I dare not deny his merit as a General, who, from the twenty fourth year of his life to the forty fifth, conquered every enemy that appeared before him, and who has filled Africa, Spain, Asia, and the whole Mediterranean with the trophies of his victories. His misfortune was to have had to contend with Cæsar, in whose presence all military merit, however splendid in itself, is eclipsed, and loses its lustre.

His murder-
ers cut
off his head.
H. b. d. it
means, that
one of his friends
cut it off.

Pompey’s murderers having cut off his head, caused it to be embalmed, the better to preserve its features, designing it as a present to Cæsar, for which they expected to receive a considerable recompense. The body was thrown
naked

naked on the strand, and exposed to the view of all whose curiosity led them that way. However his faithful freed-man Philip forsook it not; but, when the crowd was a little dispersed, he washed it with sea-water, and wrapp'd it up in one of his own tunics. The next thing to be considered was how to burn it, according to the Roman custom. When Philip, looking round him, perceived the wreck of a fishing-boat, half rotten; of which he composed a mean miserable pile; but sufficient, says Plutarch, for a naked, lopped, carcase.

Whilst he was thus employed, he was accosted by a Roman, settled in Egypt, a man advanced in years, who had learned his first military service under Pompey. “Who are you, says he to Philip, who are disposed to perform the last offices to Pompey the great?” Philip having told him the rank he bore in life; “You shall not enjoy this honour alone,” replied the old soldier, permit me to share with you, as a piece of good fortune, the opportunity of performing this act of humanity. Nor need I now absolutely repine at my foreign establishment, which, tho’ in many respects very irksome, has at least procured me the advantage of assisting at the obsequies of the first of Romans.” In this manner was Pompey buried.

His ashes, being collected by these two men, were buried under a little rising earth, scraped together with their hands, and somebody placed there the following inscription: “He, who deserved to have temples erected to

* Τῷ ναοῖς βεῖθοντι * πόση σπάνις ἔπλατο τύμβῳ.

* This word is not very clear. I have given the thought, without pretending to shew the literal meaning of the expression.

A. R. 704
A.D. C. 48.

“his memory, has with difficulty found a tomb.” Nevertheless statues were afterwards erected, round this mean sepulcher, to the honour of Pompey; but in process of time, the sand, which the sea left on the shore, buried the tomb; and the statues being injured by time and the inclemency of the air, were lodged in an adjacent temple; until the Emperor Adrian, in his voyage to Egypt, had the curiosity to seek out the place, where the ashes of this great man were deposited; which as soon as he had found, he caused it to be cleansed, and having repaired it, and made the way to it practicable, he replaced the statues.

These last circumstances concerning Pompey's tomb, you have on the testimony of Appian. According to Plutarch, care was taken to convey the ashes of her beloved spouse to Cornelia, who lodged them in her country-house of Alba. If so Pompey's tomb in Egypt was no more than a cenotaph.

*L. Lentulus
arrives in
Egypt and
is there put
to death.*

Egypt was no less fatal to L. Lentulus, Consul of the preceding year. He had followed Pompey at some distance, and arriving the day after his death, he perceived a little pile, which yet smoked; “Who is the wretch, says he, to whom are paid these last offices? perhaps, alas! added he, ’tis you, great Pompey!” Immediately on his landing, he was seized by the King's guards, imprisoned, and there put to death.

*The con-
quer'd sol-
low vari-
ous inte-
rests.*

We have followed Pompey from his defeat at Pharsalia to his unhappy end. ’Tis now necessary to give some account of his fleet, and what different interests were pursued by the most illustrious of those, who had marched under his banners.

I have already mentioned that his magazines were at Dyrrachium, and that Cato had the command of the troops appointed to guard them. Cicero, the learned Varro, and some other Senators, had likewise, for various reasons, repair'd to the same place. It must be supposed, that the account of the battle of Pharsalia spread a general consternation among the Romans, in that city. They all agreed upon flight; but they had not all the same views. Cato, ever humane, ever faithful to his engagements, was resolved, on a supposition of Pompey's death, to reconduct those that were with him into Italy, and then to go into a voluntary exile, as far as possible from tyrants and tyranny: But if Pompey was still alive, he thought himself under an obligation of preserving him the troops he had received from him, and which he commanded in his name. Cicero's only thoughts were how to procure himself ease and tranquillity in Italy, under the conqueror's protection. Labienus, who had fled from the battle directly to Dyrrachium, proposed to continue, if possible, and renew the war; and many more were of his way of thinking. They even pretended to dispute Cæsar's victory, asserting that 'twas not so complete as was imagined: But Cicero stopped their mouths by some rallies, which, the uneasy situation he was in, contributed to make more severe. However they all went to join the fleet, whose general rendezvous was at the Isle of Corcyra. At the same place, assembled the Commodores of the several squadrons, which had been detached on any enterprise; among others, one Cassius, not he who afterwards conspired against Cæsar, and the eldest son of Pompey. But this last brought

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.
Plut. Cat.
& Cic. Ap-
pian. Dio.
Lucan. IX.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

not with him the Egyptian ships, he had had under his command ; being forsaken by them, as soon as they heard of his father's defeat.

Cicero goes to Brundisium, where he waits a considerable time for Cæsar.

A council being held, Cato, an ever scrupulous observer of the laws, even in circumstances where they had no longer the power to make themselves respected, gave up the command of the fleet to Cicero, who had not yet declared his intention to retire. In fact Cicero was Consular, whereas Cato had never been more than Pretor ; and further he still kept the title and power of Proconsul, confer'd on him when he set out for Cilicia, and which he had not lost, because he had never from that time enter'd Rome. But nothing could less suit his then manner of thinking, than the idea of making use of this power ; and instead of accepting the command which was offered him, he frankly declared, that in his opinion 'twas not enough to lay aside their arms, they ought to throw them away.

This discourse raised the indignation of those, who still continued zealous for the cause ; particularly young Pompey went so far as to draw his sword upon Cicero, whom he branded with the epithets of deserter and traitor ; and had certainly run him through, had not Cato interposed, and prevented a violence, equally brutal and unjust. Cicero, preserved by Cato from so imminent danger, went to Brundisium, where he was constrained to wait a long time for Cæsar's orders and return, whom the affairs in Egypt gave very serious employment

* Quum ego . . . post Pharsalicum prælium suaseruissem armorum non deponendorum, sed abjiciendorum. *Cic. pro Dejot. n. 29.*

to for several months : But of this more here-
after. A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Cicero's abode at Brundisium, was one of Cic. ad
Att. XI. the most melancholy and humiliating periods of his life, being all the while agitated by the strongest apprehensions, in a state of dependance, having no hopes but from the person against whom he had been carrying on a war, and having reason to fear lest the party, he had just deserted, should be in a condition a second time to make head. He made his situation still more intolerable, as he had done during his exile, by a number of reflections, each more bitter than the other : in vain regretting the time past, under cruel apprehensions for the future, dissatisfied with his own proceedings, and esteeming those happier and wiser, who had pursued a conduct different from his own.

How opposite was his character to that of *Cato, with* Cato ! He, steady to his resolutions, incapable *the greatest* of repenting of a good action, and having no- *part of the* thing to reproach himself with, calmly put in *fleet, pro-* execution what he had before determined, and *ceeds to-* with the greatest part of the fleet, went in quest *wards Li-* of Pompey, whose unhappy end he was yet *bya for in-* ignorant of ; whilst Metellus Scipio, and the *telligence.* Cassius I have mentioned, set out to try what distant succours they could raise, and to endeavour to re-establish their party ; the one, by the assistance of Juba King of Mauritania ; the other, by rousing the courage of Pharnaces King of Pontus, to raise up in him a fresh enemy to Cæsar.

Cato conjectured that Libya or Egypt were the properest places for Pompey to seek protection in. He therefore made sail for those countries, in his passage permitting as many
to

A. R. 724.
Anc. C. 43.

* Hodie
Patras.

Dio.

*He hears of
Pompey's
death by
Sextus and
Cornelia.*

to retire as shewed any inclination to quit the party, and even landing them at the places where they seemed desirous to go. He stop'd at the City of Patræ *, where he pick'd up Faustus Sylla, Petreius, and some other fugitives from Pharsalia. Then doubling the cape of Malea, and coasting the isle of Crete, he came to Palinurus a promontory of the Cyrenaica. There he first heard of Pompey's death, by his son Sextus and by Cornelia: These had at first fled to the isle of Cyprus, but finding themselves too near Egypt, and fearing lest they might by chance meet with Cæsar, steered towards the West, and were by the winds drove to the same place where Cato had halted.

The news of this unhappy event occasioned a fresh division amongst Cato's followers. Many, who were attach'd personally to Pompey, and had hitherto held out in hopes of seeing him again at their head, imagining all their engagements broke by his death, determined to have recourse to the conqueror's clemency. Cato, whose design was to constrain no body, gave them full permission to retire, and accordingly they dispersed themselves, wherever their interest or acquaintance directed them, till their pardon could be obtained.

Cic. ad
Fam. XV.
15.
Dio.

C. Cassius, who afterwards kill'd Cæsar, was at this time one of those who thought it advisable not to contend with fortune. He went in search of the conqueror; but missing him, staid some time at Rhodes. By this time the Alexandrian war was commenced, and the perplexity and danger Cæsar was then in, were strong motives for Cassius to waver in his design: However victory determined him; and he got himself introduced to Cæsar, where he met
with

with a favourable reception, being supported by the recommendation of Brutus, whose sister he had married.

A. R. 704.
An. J. C. 48.
Plu. Brut-
to.

Many others, who either despaired of pardon, or from a more generous motive, were resolved to stand up in the defence of liberty to the last drop of their blood, declared to Cato, that they were determined to follow and obey him, if he would accept of the command. This was not his first scheme, being desirous to be no longer concerned in civil feuds, and had therefore determined on a very remote retirement. But he made a scruple of abandoning, in a strange country, so many brave persons, whose sole dependance was on his protection: He therefore complied with their requests; and no sooner appeared before Cyrene, than he was readily received, tho' but few days before the inhabitants of that city had shut their gates against Labienus.

*He takes on
him the
command,
and is re-
ceived in
Cyrene.*

Cornelia returned into Italy, well knowing she had nothing to apprehend from Cæsar. Pompey's two sons remained with Cato. We shall see hereafter in what manner these remains of the vanquished party renewed the war in Africa, and exposed the conqueror to fresh fatigues and fresh dangers. For the present, let's return to Cæsar, whom we left at Larissa, preparing to pursue Pompey.



B O O K XLV.

Containing Cæsar's war in Egypt, and with Pharnaces. The Illyrican war. Particular facts. The state of Rome during Cæsar's absence and at his return. *Anno Romæ 704, 705.*

§. I.

Cæsar pursues Pompey. Comes in sight of Alexandria and is presented with his enemy's head. He weeps. He enters Alexandria where he finds the people irritated against him. Is there detained by contrary winds. Takes into consideration the difference 'twixt the King of Egypt and Cleopatra his sister. The cause of this misunderstanding. Discontent of the Egyptian ministers, particularly of the eunuch Potbinus. Cleopatra comes to Alexandria and is introduced to Cæsar. Their adulterous commerce. Cæsar declares Ptolemy and Cleopatra jointly King and Queen of Egypt. Achillas with the Royal army comes to besiege Cæsar in Alexandria. First battle. A fire consumes the greatest part of the Alexandrian library. The war continued. Cæsar causes Potbinus to be assassinated. He is a second time appointed Dictator. Arsinoë, Cleopatra's sister, having introduced herself into Achillas's camp, procures his death. The war carried on under the direction of the eunuch Ganimed. Cæsar in great danger, saves

saves himself by swimming. The Alexandrians demand their King of Cæsar, who returns him. Cæsar receives supplies. Mithridates of Pergamus brings him a considerable reinforcement. Cæsar goes to join him. Last battle, wherein Ptolemy is defeated and afterwards drown'd in the Nile. Reduction of Alexandria and Egypt. The Kingdom of Egypt given to Cleopatra and her second brother. Cæsar devotes himself for some time to the charms of Cleopatra. He is obliged to quit Egypt on the report of the progress of Pharnaces in Asia. Conclusion of the amours of Cæsar and Cleopatra. Cæsar settles the affairs of Syria and Cilicia. Dejotarus sues for pardon, and partly obtains it. Pharnaces, taking advantage of the civil war to commence hostilities, gains considerable advantages. Defeats Domitius Calvinus, Cæsar's Lieutenant. Cæsar comes and gains a victory. Remarkable saying of Cæsar thereon. Total ruin and death of Pharnaces. Cæsar, in his return to Rome, settles the affairs of Asia and raises great contributions. His maxim on that head.

CÆsar very justly thought, no respite ought to be allowed his vanquished enemy, whose reputation alone was sufficient to put him in a condition of repairing his forces : As therefore he was absolutely bent on pursuing him, he march'd every day as far as the body of cavalry he had with him could hold out, and was followed by shorter marches by a single legion. He heard of Pompey at Amphipolis ; but having no ships with him, he was under the necessity of marching by land to the straits of the Hellespont, that he might only have that short passage by sea, into Asia.

A. R. 407.

Ant. C. 48.

Cæsar pur-

sues Pom-

pey.

Cæf. de B.

Civil. III.

Plut. Cæf.

Dio. 1.

XLII.

Appian.

Civil. 1.

II.

He

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Suet. Cæs.
62. Dio.†

He sent before him the troops he had brought with him ; then went on board a sort of packet-boat, and in the middle of the streight, fell in with one of the Chiefs of the contrary party, escorted by ten men of war. This was L. Cassius *, without doubt the same who went from Corcyra to Pontus, in order to persuade Pharnaces to revolt. Cæsar, no ways terrified to see himself confronted by an enemy of so superior force, bore up to him, and commanded him to strike. He obeyed ; such was the terror of Cæsar's name, that, with a single sloop, he compelled ten ships of war to surrender.

Cæsar continued his rout by sea, either employing the ships he had taken from L. Cassius, which however he makes no mention of in his Commentaries, or making use of those which some of the cities of Asia had supplied him with. When he came to Ephesus, he a second time saved the treasure of Diana's temple, which T. Ampius Balbus was going to plunder for Pompey. And indeed he signalised himself during the whole course of his voyage, by acts of generosity and clemency, in pardoning as many of Pompey's friends as were introduced to him, and in forgiving those people of Asia who had sent him any assistance. Only as he stood in need of supplies, he laid them under contri-

* Some ancient and modern authors have taken this Cassius, for him who afterwards was in the conspiracy against Cæsar. Freinshemius very judiciously observes, that the cowardice this Commodore of ten ships shews on this occasion, by

no means suits the bold, haughty character of C. Cassius. Dio purposely distinguishes them : and his testimony agrees with Cicero, as may be seen at the conclusion of the preceding book.

tions.

tions. But so far from intending to harass the people, he published orders restraining the power of the collectors. I ought not here to omit for the reputation of letters, that in consideration of Theopompus the Cnidian, to whose learning and instruction he paid a great regard, he granted to the city of Cnidus, the birth-place of this sage, a total exemption from all taxes and contributions.

In his passage he was informed that Pompey had been seen in the isle of Cyprus, which fully confirmed him in what Brutus, in a discourse between them on this head, had before suggested. Cæsar therefore no longer doubting that Egypt, where Pompey had so good interest, had appeared to him the best asylum he could make choice of, left Rhodes, with a convoy of ten Rhodian gallies and a few others from Asia, having on board two legions, but so greatly weakened, as to make in the whole but three thousand foot and eight hundred horse. This was but a feeble escort, but Cæsar depended on the reputation his former exploits had gained him, for the safety of his person. However he did not immediately enter the port of Alexandria; but perceiving a good deal of disorder and tumult on the strand, he chose to ly by, till he could know the reason of it.

Here he received a visit from Theodotus, that wretched rhetorician, who had advised Pompey's murder, and flattered himself he was now to receive his reward, by presenting his head and ring to his enemy. Cæsar could not refrain from tears at so melancholy a spectacle, from whatever principle they might proceed. For, neither to adopt the invectives of Lucan,

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Plut. Cæs.

Plut. Bru-

*He comes
within
sight of A-
lexandria,
and is pre-
sented with*

*his enemy's
head. He
weeps.*

Lucan l.

X. Liv.

Epit.

CXII.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

nor the positiveness of Dio, who insists that this sorrow was counterfeit, the reflection, which one of the greatest French poets has put in the mouth of Cornelia, must be allowed to be just :

* *O soupirs ! ô respect ! ô qu'il est doux de plaindre
" Le sort d'un ennemi, quand il n'est plus à craindre."*

Val. Max.
1. Appian.

Cæsar however took care to observe a decorum in all his actions. He highly repented the base murdering of Pompey, and having caused his head to be burnt with the most costly perfumes, he honoured its ashes, by placing them in a temple, which he dedicated to the goddess Nemesis. This divinity the pagans adored, as the avenger of the insolence and pride of men when in prosperity, and of their cruelty to the unfortunate.

Plut.
Pomp.

His character seems to be deficient but in one point : In not ordering the immediate execution of the wretch, who brought him that fatal present. By punishing this outrage of the Egyptians, he had not only avenged Pompey, but it may be said, had avenged himself. For undoubtedly he had shared the same fate, if he had had the misfortune to be defeated. Perhaps he thought it imprudent to carry things with so high a hand on his first arrival in a country, which was not in subjection to him. Certain it is, that Brutus had the honour of that piece of vengeance, who after he had kill'd Cæsar, caused Theodotus, who hoped to escape the punishment due to his crime, by con-

* What sighs ! what tears ! how pleasant 'tis to grieve
That foe, when dead, who living made us tremble !

cealing

cealing himself in Asia, to be executed in the most cruel torments. A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Cæsar might reasonably look on the city of Alexandria as in his interest, after the sacrifice the King of Egypt had made him. But probably the reception he gave the person, who brought him Pompey's head, had given a bad impression. Immediately on landing, he was accosted in a clamorous manner by the soldiers, which Ptolemy, who still continued near Pelusium, had left to garrison the Royal city : and he observed that the mob appeared dissatisfied to see the fasces carried before him, which they interpreted a degradation of the sovereign authority. *He enters Alexandria, where he finds the people irritated against him.*

Cæsar took up his quarters in the palace, where he caused a strict guard to be mounted. But as the mutiny of the Alexandrians still continued, and as each day produced some fresh disturbance, in which the Roman soldiers were frequently insulted and sometimes killed, he perceived his forces were not sufficient, and accordingly he sent into Asia for some of the legions which he had raised out of the remains of Pompey's army ; for he had sent back his veteran troops into Italy under the conduct of Anthony : And to appease the mob, he for several days refrained from all business of import, amusing himself with walking about the city, viewing and admiring the temples and other public buildings, and even sometimes attending philosophical lectures. In a word, he in every thing affected great mildness and popularity, receiving whoever visited him with great politeness.

I don't doubt but it must appear surprising to every body, as well as to myself, what could induce *I detained by contrary winds.*

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

induce Cæsar to continue in this inaction, at a time that so many important affairs required his presence in Italy, in Asia, and in Africa. Pompey was dead, what then had Cæsar to do in Egypt? It could not be his love for Cleopatra, for he had not then seen her. I can therefore find no other probable reason for his stay at Alexandria, but what he himself gives in his Commentaries. The * Etesian winds blew at that season, which are directly contrary to any passage by sea from Alexandria. Cæsar was therefore under the necessity of abiding there.

This situation of Cæsar proved of advantage to many of Pompey's partizans, who having accompanied their chief in his flight, were either now wandering in Egypt, or had been seized by the King's order. Cæsar pardoned them all without any distinction; and in his letters to his friends at Rome he acknowledged, that the greatest and most agreeable advantage he reap'd from his victory, was the having every day an opportunity of sparing the lives of some of his countrymen, who had taken up arms against him.

Takes into consideration the difference betwixt the King of Egypt and his sister Cleopatra.
The cause of this misunderstanding.

Ptolemy was not at Alexandria when Cæsar first came there; but he came soon afterwards, either voluntarily, or sent for by Cæsar, who had a mind to take cognizance of the dispute between this young King and his sister Cleopatra, concerning the right of succession. This is what gave rise to that difference.

Ptolemy Auletes at his death left four children; two Princes, who were both called

* The Etesian winds are northerly winds, which constantly blow in Egypt for a considerable time about the summer solstice.

Ptolemy,

Ptolemy, and two Princesses, the celebrated Cleopatra and Arsinoë. By his will he ordered that the elder of his sons should marry his elder daughter, and should jointly reign with her; which was no more than customary with the descendants of Lagus, who had established a law for such associations to the crown, and for such incestuous marriages. For the more certain execution of this his will, he therein implored the protection of the Roman people: and having caused two copies to be made thereof, he sent one to be lodged in the Capitol, and kept the other at Alexandria. He died under the Consulship of Sulpicius and Marcellus, *anno Romæ 701*. A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

The union did not long subsist 'twixt young Ptolemy and Cleopatra. That haughty, ambitious Princess, had the superiority over her brother in point of age; for at the time of her father's death, she was seventeen years old, and her brother only thirteen. She therefore claim'd a right to govern her brother, and to take the administration of affairs into her hands. On the other hand, the guardians of the young Prince, the chief of whom was Pothinus the eunuch, claim'd the sovereign authority in the King's name. This division fermented for some time in the Alexandrian court; but had not as yet produced any open rupture, when Pompey's eldest son came there to demand succours. Cleopatra even then made no scruple to sacrifice her modesty to her ambition, and to make a traffic of her beauty. She was pleased to find that young Roman was not insensible to her charms, and thought, by the prostitution of her person to his passion, to have insured his protection. However she was mistaken, as Plut. Ant.
ton.

A. R. 704.
Ann. C. 43.

the Senate gave its determination, as has been already related, in favour of Ptolemy. The young Prince had no sooner obtained this decree, than he banished Cleopatra, who, with her sister Arsinoë, retired into Syria, where she assembled an army. Ptolemy marched to oppose her, and the two armies were in sight of each other near mount Casius, at the entrance into Egypt on the Syrian side, at the time Pompey came there to meet his unhappy fate.

Cæsar undertook to be arbitrator in this dispute, and insisted it was his right as Consul of the Roman people, who had been appointed guardians of the Prince and Princess by their father: he therefore ordered them to dismiss their troops, and to come and plead their cause before him.

*D. Cassius
of the E-
gyptian mi-
nisters par-
ticularly of
Pothinus
the eunuch.*

Ptolemy's ministers had all the reason in the world to apprehend such an arbitrator. Cleopatra's pretensions were valid: She had been ill used by Pompey's senate: lastly she was handsome, and 'twas well enough known what influence a fine Lady of so complaisant a disposition would have on Cæsar.

Besides another affair alarmed them, and gave them fresh cause of discontent. Cæsar, who was in great want of money, had applied to the King of Egypt for a supply. He had formerly lent Ptolemy Auletes * seventy millions of sesterces, thirty of which he had afterwards excused his children the payment of; but he insisted that the remaining forty should be instantly paid him: which was no easy matter.

* 546. 75
l. 1. 2. 3.

These different considerations so exasperated Pothinus, that 'tis reported he even formed a design of assassinating Cæsar: To prevent which, the Roman General passed whole nights at table,

that

that he might not be surpris'd in the dark, or in his bed. A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Whatever methods an inveterate hatred could suggest, to vex and cross a person it had not the power of destroying, Pothinus put in practice. He caus'd bad corn to be deliver'd to the Roman soldiers, and if any complaint was made, he said they ought to think themselves but too happy, in living at another's expence. In all festivals, he made use of earthen and wooden vessels, saying that those of gold and silver had been given in payment to Cæsar. On the same pretence, he seiz'd the offerings of the temples, in hopes to make the odium of such sacrileges fall on Cæsar; and which indeed extremely exasperated the Egyptians, who were the most superstitious of all people. Lastly he resolv'd to make use of open force, and dispatch'd orders to Achillas, who had remained with the army near Pelusium, to march all his forces to Alexandria.

Cleopatra took a quite different method. She complied implicitly with Cæsar's orders, and disbanded her army; at least I don't find any mention made afterwards of it. She also took care to send proper persons, in whom she could confide, to plead her cause with the Roman General. But she judg'd no method was so likely to succeed, as to come and do it in person. The difficulty was how to get into Alexandria, which her enemies were in possession of. She went on board a small vessel, and in the evening landed near the palace. Then, in order to get in, without any one's knowledge, she wrap'd herself up in a coverlet, and in this manner was carried by one Apollodorus Siculus into the very chamber of Cæsar. Her ad-

Cleopatra comes to Alexandria, and is introduced to Cæsar. Their adulteries.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Lucan.
l. X.

dress pleased him. Afterwards what by her beauty, what by her graceful discourse, to which she joined entreaties and caresses, Cleopatra not only procured her pretensions to be allowed just ; but even brought Cæsar to the point she doubtless wished for : and to be re-establish'd in the dignity and rank of Consort to the King of Egypt, she began by committing adultery with him, whose protection she sought.

This interview has occasioned many people to think, that the war which immediately followed, and which on the one hand gave the vanquished party time to recover themselves, and on the other hand exposed Cæsar to very great perils, was undertaken by him wantonly, and ought to be considered as the effect of his amours with Cleopatra. For my part, though I am far from excusing him on that article, yet the facts induced me to think, that Cæsar being detained by the Etesian winds, and engaged in the decision of the quarrel 'twixt Ptolemy and Cleopatra, was desirous, as an effect of his resolute, absolute, and imperious temper, to get the better of an affair, of which, at first, he was not aware of the consequences. Love 'tis true had some share ; but I much doubt whether 'twas his principal motive.

Cæsar declares Ptolemy and Cleopatra joint King and Queen of Egypt.
D.C.

However the day after Cleopatra's arrival, Cæsar sent for the young King, who was strangely surprised to find his sister with his judge. He fled from the palace, towards the market-place, crying out, that he was betrayed ; and in the excess of his grief and passion, pluck'd the diadem from his head. But he was seized and brought back by some Roman soldiers : However not soon enough, to prevent the outcry

cry he made, giving the alarm to the city, and occasioning a violent sedition. The Alexandrians ran in arms from all parts to beset the palace. Cæsar shewed himself to them, and having promised to make them satisfaction, called a council, at which, he, Ptolemy, and Cleopatra were present. He there declared, that the Alexandrians had no cause to be alarmed, as he intended to do no more, than what they themselves desired, to wit, to declare the brother and sister, King and Queen of Egypt, conformable to their father's will.

Moreover Cæsar promised to give the isle of Cyprus, which was an ancient appennage of the kingdom of Egypt, but had since become a Roman province, to the younger Ptolemy and to Arsinoë, his second sister. Dio ascribes this bounty to the apprehensions Cæsar was then under. But he little knew that haughty intrepid man. No fear could ever have so far got the better of his courage, as to engage him to give up any one province from the empire. It seems to me more probable, that this favour was granted in compliance to Cleopatra's request; and that this ambitious, and designing Princess, was glad to see an ancient dominion of her ancestors, restored to her brother and sister; intending to seize it afterwards for her own use, as she did, the very first opportunity.

In the mean while, Achilles, who had been sent for by Pothinus, approached Alexandria with the Royal army. This army was not inconsiderable. It amounted to twenty thousand effective men, many of whom were originally Romans, brought into the country by Gabinius, when he came to settle Auletes on the throne, and who having afterwards married

*Achillas,
with the
Royal army,
besieges
Cæsar in
Alexan-
dria.
Cæsar.*

A. R. 704.
An. J. C. 48.

and settled in Alexandria, were devoted to the Ptolemean interest. There were also some brigades raised in Syria and Cilicia, together with a considerable number of renegade slaves, who had deserted their masters, and found protection in Egypt by entering into the service. Add to these two thousand cavalry, who, during the late troubles, and the wars that ensued, had had opportunities of inuring themselves to arms.

Cæsar, who had with him only three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, was not able to keep the field against so numerous an army. He persuaded Ptolemy to send two of his principal Lords to Achilles, to forbid his approach. But Achilles understood perfectly well, that these orders came from Cæsar, and not from his King ; and instead of complying with them, he stirred up his soldiers against the deputies, one of whom was killed on the spot, and the other dangerously wounded. Upon hearing this, Cæsar took care to secure the King's person, the authority of whose name would authorise his proceedings, and occasion Achilles and his associates, to be esteemed seditious and rebellious.

Achillas lost no time before he entered Alexandria, whose circumference was of too great an extent, for Cæsar possibly to defend the whole, with the few troops he had. So that the Egyptian General made himself master of the city without any difficulty, the palace only excepted, where Cæsar purposed to make his stand. He attack'd this quarter briskly, though 'twas on the side of the harbour that the greatest efforts were made. On that in effect the victory depended. Besides two and twenty constant guard-

First battle.

*Great part
of the Alex-
andrian li-
brary
burnt.*

guard-ships, there were in the port fifty gallies, A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48. from three to five banks of oars, which the year before had been sent to Pompey's assistance, and were returned since the battle of Pharsalia.

Had Achilles been once master of these vessels, he might have cut Cæsar off from all communication with the ocean, and consequently from all hopes of receiving supplies of victuals or forces. Thus the Egyptians in hopes of a complete victory, and the Romans to avoid a certain ruin, exerted themselves with incredible vigour. At length Cæsar carried his point, and not only set fire to the vessels already mentioned, but to all that were in the arsenals.

The number of ships, burnt on this occasion, amounted to one hundred and ten. The flames Hist. de
Bell. Alex.
n. 12. at last extended themselves to the Alexandrian

^a library, and that valuable monument of the magnificence of the Ptolemies, and of their taste for learning, was almost wholly consumed.

Cæsar neglected nothing that might be of The war
continued. advantage to him. In the heat of the action, he passed some troops into the isle of Pharos, to take possession of that important post, which was the key to the Alexandrian port. This little island, so famous for the superb edifice erected there by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and which takes its name from it, was joined to the continent by a causeway of nine hundred paces, and by a bridge. As it was situate at the entrance of the port, which was but narrow, it absolutely commanded it. 'Twas therefore a masterly stroke in Cæsar to take posses-

^a *Elegantia regum curæ- Sen. de tranq. animi, c. 9.
que egregium opus. Liv. ap.*

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

sion of it, as it enabled him to receive the supplies he had sent for on all sides.

Notwithstanding this success, Cæsar continued in great danger: and altho' Achilles had not as yet succeeded in any one point, there was reason to expect he would make fresh attempts; and as he had the superiority of forces, what he had failed in once, he might succeed in another time. Cæsar therefore immediately flung up entrenchments, and erected fortifications of all kinds round his quarter, from whence he had an uninterrupted passage to the harbour. These entrenchments were of double advantage to him, both as to his defence, and as they prevented his being compelled to come to a general engagement.

The Alexandrians erected works, in imitation of the Romans, in that part of the city which belonged to them, and as they were a very ^a ingenious people, so perfectly well copied what they saw begun by their enemies, that one might have mistaken their works for the original. At the same time they were raising troops all over Egypt, arming their slaves, providing themselves with military engines, and making arms. In a word, nothing was omitted on either side, necessary for the attack, or defence of a place.

Cæsar

causes Po-
thinus to be
assassinated.

Achillas (as I have already said) acted in concert with Pothinus: and altho' the latter was shut up in the palace, yet the correspondence was carried on by secret messages. This intelligence was discovered: and Cæsar, having

^a Homines ingeniosissimi atque acutissimi, quæ à nobis fieri viderant, eâ solertiâ efficiabant, ut nostri illorum opera imitari viderentur. *Hist. de B. Alex. n. 3.*

had

had convincing proof thereof, ordered Pothinus's execution; being the first of Pompey's assassins who had met with condign punishment. According to Plutarch, this wicked eunuch had formed the design of cutting Cæsar's throat at table; and the conspiracy was discovered by a slave (a barber) whose exceeding timid temper prompting him to be continually upon the watch, he thought he had made some discoveries; and being confirm'd in his suspicions, revealed the plot to Cæsar his master.

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 48.

Whilst the Alexandrian war was carried on with the greatest heat, the year being elapsed, Cæsar received advice from Rome, that he had been appointed Dictator, not for six months as was customary, but for a year. He took possession of this sovereign dignity, in Ptolemy's palace; and for several months, was the only Roman magistrate, having Mark Anthony for his General of the horse. Nevertheless as towards the end of the year, Calenus and Vatinius were created Consuls, we will follow the Roman practice, of describing the year, by the names of those who bore that office.

He is a second time named Dictator.

Dio.

Q. FUFIVS CALENUS.

P. VATINIUS.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

Arfinoë, Cleopatra's sister, having introduced herself into Achilles's camp, causes him to be killed. Cæf. de B. Civ. l. III. & Hist. de B. Alex.

There had happened a very extraordinary revolution in the Alexandrian army, not that Cæsar's danger was thereby less imminent. It seems Arfinoë, Cleopatra's sister, who formerly accompanied her in her flight, and probably returned with her to Alexandria, had found means, by the assistance of Ganimed her confident, to escape from the palace, and to get in-

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

*The war
carried on
under the
direction of
the eunuch
Ganimed.*

to Achilles's camp. There she occasioned a division. A great number of Egyptians had a favourable regard for this Princess, who was of the blood Royal : but as Achilles was resolved to retain the authority, the contest was whose bounty, or rather bribery, should gain most on the soldiers. However Arsinoë soon got a superiority ; and having procured Achilles to be assassinated by Ganimed, the troops remained at her disposal, the command of whom she conferred on the murderer. He not less bold, or knowing than his predecessor, signalized the beginning of his command, by a well concerted, tho' difficult enterprise, and which for some time greatly embarrassed the Romans.

Alexandria was supplied with water from the Nile, by an artificial canal. The water of this river being generally muddy and unwholesome, every house in the city was provided with a cistern, where the water was let in by the canal to purge itself, and thereby became innoxious and fit to drink. The canal was in that part of the city, where the Egyptians were masters : So that to render it impossible for the Romans to hold longer out, Ganimed thought he had only to taint the water in the cisterns of their quarter.

Having formed this design, he began by closing up all the cisterns in his quarters ; then raising the sea-water by wheels and other machines, he flung great quantities of it into the Roman cisterns. Those, whose houses were nearest the sea, were the first to perceive the alteration, and were much surpris'd to find their water salt, at the same time that the water of the more distant houses remained fresh as before. However the saltness soon became general :

ral : and the Romans were so frightened at it, that they thought of nothing but leaving the city and retreating, notwithstanding the difficulty and extreme danger of embarking in the face of an enemy.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

Cæsar comforted and encouraged them : he told them, “ that the evil was not so great as
“ they imagined : that there were always fresh
“ springs on the sea-coast, and that they had
“ but to dig to a certain depth to come at
“ them. That a retreat was equally detrimental to their honour and their safety ; and
“ that if they found it difficult to maintain their
“ ground, behind entrenchments, against a numerous enemy, to quit those entrenchments,
“ and embark in a hurry, and consequently
“ with confusion, was exposing themselves to
“ certain ruin. Lastly that their safety depended on victory.”

Having finish'd this discourse, he order'd that no other work should go on, 'till a sufficient number of wells were dug in different places. This met with the desir'd success, and Cæsar by this means, without much trouble, frustrated the designs of the Egyptians, which had cost them infinite labour.

Ganimed however was not dishearten'd ; as he was sensible that the only means to conquer, was to prevent Cæsar's receiving the reinforcements he expected, and which must come to him by sea, he resolved to have a fleet at any price. Cæsar's fleet was not considerable, it amounted in the whole to only thirty four Rhodian or Asiatic vessels ; five of which were of five banks of oars, ten of four, and the rest of less burthen, and the greater part without any deck. So that the Egyptian General had no
great

A. R. 705.
AEL. C. 47.

great difficulty to raise a superior naval force. Accordingly he refitted the old ships which had escaped the fire, and sent for those which guarded the entrances of the Nile, and of these he composed a fleet, which, without reckoning the smaller vessels, consisted of twenty seven great gallies, twenty two of which were of four banks, and five of five banks of oars.

Notwithstanding this superiority, Cæsar got the advantage in two several engagements, thro' the valour of the Roman soldiers, and the dexterity of their allies, and particularly of the Rhodians, in working their ships. But another important action, which was fought both by land and sea at the same time, had not the like success.

The Alexandrians had retaken the isle of Pharos, and from thence much annoyed the Romans. Cæsar was determined to dislodge the enemy from this post ; he landed some troops in the island, and got possession of it, and of the bridge which communicated from the isle to the causeway. But the Alexandrians still remained masters of another bridge, which joined the causeway to the continent. The next day Cæsar return'd to the charge ; and caused this bridge to be attack'd, on one side by some of his ships, and on the other side by three cohorts, which he had posted on the causeway. The Alexandrians fought stoutly : their land-forces defended the head of the bridge, and from their ships they discharged their arrows and slings on the causeway. In the heat of the action, some marines and rowers in the Roman fleet, partly through curiosity, partly through a desire of having some share in the engagement, came and joined the combatants :
but

but being seized with a panic, they instantly fled, and threw the rest into confusion. All Cæsar's endeavours to rally his forces were vain: the whole was in confusion, and every one thought of saving himself. In this disorder great numbers were drown'd, and many put to the sword. The loss is computed by the ancient writer of the Alexandrian war, at about four hundred legionary soldiers, and a still greater number of those, whose curiosity led them to intermeddle where they were not concern'd.

'Twas not without great difficulty and hazard, that Cæsar himself escaped. When he saw the irremediable disorder of his troops, he retired to his ship. But as great crowds entred at the same time with him, foreseeing what wou'd happen, he jump'd into the sea, and swam two hundred paces, to get to the ships that lay nearest him. This precaution was not unnecessary, for the vessel he quitted presently sunk. 'Tis remarkable that having strip'd off his coat of mail, which would have been an incumbrance to him in swimming, he drew it after him by his teeth, to prevent, if possible, its falling into the enemy's hands: and as he had some papers in his left hand, he constantly held it above water, at the same time swimming with his right, by which means the papers were not wetted. However his coat of armour got from him, which proved of service to him: for being purple, and distinguishable by the brightness of its colour, it sustained all the fury of the enemy's shot, at the same time that Cæsar saved himself without being observed, or known. The Alexandrians took it, and made it the principal ornament

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

*Cæsar's
danger. He
escapes by
swimming.*

Suet. Cæs.
c. 64. Flor.
IV. 2.
Plut. Cæs.
Appian.
Dio.

A. R. 705.
An. J. C. 47.

in the trophy they erected on the place of the engagement.

Hist. de
B. Alex.

This check, which the Romans had sustained, would have been sufficient to discourage troops capable of fear. But these intrepid warriors were from thence only more exasperated ; and in the sallies and skirmishes which happened every day, the Alexandrians found them more and more terrible.

*The Alex-
andrians
demand
their King
of Cæsar,
who re-
turns him.*

They now began to think 'twou'd be of great service to them if they cou'd have their King at their head, and in order to get him out of Cæsar's hands, they had recourse to stratagem. They sent deputies to him, with instructions to tell him, " that the Alexandrians, " being tired of a government, which Arsi- " noë's sex, age, and want of lawful authori- " ty, rendered feeble and precarious, and be- " ing moreover weary of the insolence and " cruelty of the eunuch Ganimed, desired no- " thing so much as their King. That if they " once cou'd see him at their head, negotiat- " ing in their name, and guarantee for the " Romans abiding by their engagements with " his subjects, they would immediately lay " down their arms."

Cæsar, who was perfectly well acquainted with the deceitful and artful temper of the Egyptians, was not to be imposed on by their plausible discourse. However he determined at all events to comply with their demands, being sensible that the whole hazard was to them and their King : for as to what concerned himself, if, at first, he thought it might be of service to him to detain the young Prince, to prevent, if possible, a rebellion ; now that 'twas not only broke out, but had been obsti-
nately

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

nately maintained for several months, such a prisoner created him more trouble than real advantage. He therefore sent for Ptolemy, and having exhorted him to put an end to the misfortunes of his country, to save from total ruin its metropolis, which might be esteemed one of the finest cities in the world, and to bring back his rebellious subjects to their allegiance, he took him by the hand to conduct him out of the palace. The young King was then but fifteen years old; he had nevertheless made great progress in the lessons of dissimulation and treachery which had been given him. He burst into tears, and desired to stay with Cæsar, protesting he took more pleasure in his company, than in the possession of a crown. Such a behaviour deceived Cæsar, who was touched by his tears, which he imagined to be sincere, and told him, if those were his real sentiments, they should quickly see one another again. Ptolemy took his leave, and had no sooner got his liberty, than he entirely changed his stile and conduct, and pushed the war with so much vigour, that there was room to think, that the tears which he shed in this conversation with Cæsar were tears of joy.

About this time Cæsar received a considerable reinforcement of troops, together with a supply of ammunition and provisions, which came to him both by sea and land. 'Twas already some time, that a legion, composed of Pompey's veterans, had come to him from Asia: and tho' at first they were drove by the winds on the African coast beyond Alexandria, yet there is no * doubt but that Cæsar afterwards

Cæsar receives supplies.

* I express myself in this manner because Cæsar's con- tinuator takes no notice of his legions entering Alexandria.

A. R. 704. found means to introduce them into the city.
 Ant. C. 48.

However the convoys, in their passage to him, were way-laid, and often surpris'd by the Egyptian ships, stationed for that purpose near Canopus : to prevent which, and to dislodge these pirates, Cæsar sent thither his fleet under the command of Ti. Nero his Questor : This had the desired effect ; except that the Rhodian Admiral, by name Euphranor, a man of great courage, and who had not his equal in maritime knowledge, being too far advanced, and not properly sustain'd, was surrounded by the Alexandrians, and sunk with his ship.

Mithridates of Pergamus brings him considerable succours.

Strabo. l. XIII. p. 625. Hist.

But what determin'd the victory, were the succours brought by land to Cæsar, by Mithridates of Pergamus. This Mithridates was of the race of the Gallo-grecian Tetrarchs, tho' born in the city of Pergamus, from whence the surname of Pergamenus has been given him in history. His mother, who, tho' she had a husband, was nevertheless mistress to Mithridates the great, was glad to pass her son for the son of that famous King, and accordingly gave him the same name. 'Tis certain that the King of Pontus had a great affection for that child ; that, when he was very young, he took him with him to the field, gave him a princely education, and for a great number of years, never parted from him. Mithridates of Pergamus, who from his birth had discovered a very happy disposition to knowledge, cou'd not fail making great improvement from the lessons of so great a master. To his natural courage he joined an uncommon knowledge in the art military : and as he afterwards sided with Cæsar, he stood the foremost in his friendship, at the time he accompanied Cæsar to Alexandria.

Alexandria. On the breaking out of the war, Cæsar sent him into Syria and Cilicia, to raise troops for his service. Mithridates acquitted himself of this commission with great fidelity, and finding the people very favourably disposed, he in a short time raised a numerous army, at the head of which he advanced towards Pelusium. Antipater, Hyrcan's minister, was in this army, with three thousand Jews, who, according to the testimony of Josephus, did signal service to the Romans in this expedition. A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.
Joseph.
Antiq. XIV. 14.
de B. Jud. I. 7.

Pelusium was not able to hold out against Mithridates. Notwithstanding there was a strong garrison in the place, which was the key of Egypt on the Syrian side, 'twas carried by storm, the very first day of the attack.

The shortest way from Pelusium to Alexandria, wou'd have been to have gone from East to West, keeping a parallel line with the sea. But all that country is traversed in such a manner by branches of the Nile and by canals, that Mithridates found the march equally fatiguing and hazardous. This obliged him to return as far as the head of the Delta, that is to say, to the place where the Nile begins to divide itself into two great branches. Memphis, the ancient court of the Egyptian Kings, opened her gates to him, and afforded him a passage over the Nile. Hirt.
Joseph.

Ptolemy, having received advice of the approach of this army, detached a body of troops to stop its progress, and to prevent its junction with Cæsar. Part of this detachment having outstrip'd the rest in their rout, and being eager to carry off the honour of the victory from their followers, their commanders made an immediate disposition to attack Mithridates, who

A. R. 705. was well entrench'd. This fault, so frequent
Ann. C. 47. in war, and so often punish'd by ill-success, on
 this occasion met with its just reward. The
 Egyptians were repuls'd with loss, and had
 been entirely destroyed, if their knowledge of
 the country, which facilitated their retreat to
 the transports, which brought them, had not
 favoured their escape. However the remain-
 der of the detachment which had not yet en-
 gaged, and had been join'd by those who escap-
 ed the first defeat, was yet of sufficient force to
 prevent Mithridates's advancing.

Cæsar goes Cæsar and the King of Egypt were both in-
29. in him. form'd of this event, and set out almost at the
 same time, the one to join Mithridates, the o-
 ther to surprise and destroy him. Tho' Pto-
 lemy got there first, by means of a great num-
 ber of small vessels, which were of use in trans-
 porting his troops, and having besides the ad-
 vantage of going directly up the river, yet he
 was not able to attempt any thing before Cæ-
 sar's arrival, who found no difficulty to join
 Mithridates.

Last battle, Cæsar, now seeing himself at the head of a
wherein powerful army, was resolved to put an end to
Ptolemy is the war. The King was encamped, at a little
defeated distance from the Nile, which flank'd him on
and after- the left. Betwixt his camp and Cæsar's was
wards a canal, of which the Alexandrians endeavour-
erown'd in ed to dispute the passage. However 'twas to
the Nile. no purpose, for Cæsar passed it, and the next
 day attack'd and carried the King's camp sword
 in hand. Great was the slaughter of the Egypti-
 ans. Their only refuge was to get on board
 their transports, and endeavour to fall down
 the river. Ptolemy himself went on board one
 of these vessels, which, being over-loaded by
 the

the numbers who jump'd into it, sunk to the bottom : and in this manner was the young King drown'd in the Nile. His body was afterwards found, cover'd with mud, and known by the golden cuirass, which it was customary for the Ptolemies to wear in time of action.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

Flor. IV.
2. Oros.
VI. 16.

Cæsar sent this cuirass to Alexandria, to be a proof to the inhabitants of their King's death, and himself followed with his cavalry by the shortest way, being persuaded that on the news of his victory, every body would submit, nor even dare to think of war. Nor was he mistaken : for he no sooner appeared on the enemy's side of the town, than he perceived the Alexandrians coming out to meet him, and to implore his forgiveness. Cæsar comforted them, promised to treat them with humanity, and cross'd the enemy's works to come to his own quarters.

*Reduction
of Alexan-
dria and
Egypt.*

In this manner Cæsar extricated himself from a ^a war, wherein all manner of difficulties and disadvantages seemed united against him : wherein as well the season of the year, as his situation, were adverse, fighting in the depth of winter, and within the walls of an artful enemy, who was well supplied with all sorts of provisions, at the same time that he was in want of every thing, and absolutely unprepared.

He had it now in his power to reduce Egypt to a province of the empire. Suetonius says, that the reason, which dissuaded him from so doing, was, that he was apprehensive that some

*Cleopatra
and her se-
cond bro-
ther, put
in possession
of the king-
dom of E-*

^a Bellum sanè difficillimum gessit, neque loco, neque tempore æquo, sed hieme anni, & intra mœnia

copiosissimi & solertissimi hostis, inops ipse rerum omnium atque imparatus. Suet. Cæsar. c. 52. Cæsar. c. 35.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

Hist.

*Cæsar, for
some time,
devotes
himself to
the charms
of Cleopatra.*

Suet. Dio.
Appian.

ambitious Governor, who shou'd reside in so opulent a country, and of so difficult access, might some time or other be tempted to revolt. This probably was the reason Cæsar alledged to his friends: The true one, without doubt, was his love for Cleopatra. It may not however be amiss to observe, that, whatever attachment he might have for the Queen, Cæsar here did no more than an act of justice. The kingdom of Egypt was the patrimony of Cleopatra and of her now only surviving brother, and they had committed no offence to justify their being depriv'd of it: So that, conformable to the will of Ptolemy Auletes, Cæsar declared them King and Queen of Egypt. 'Tis true, the Prince, being almost an infant, was only nominally King, and that the whole authority remained in the hands of his sister, who, besides the advantage of years, had that of being in very great esteem with the Dictator.

Cleopatra's charms must have been very bewitching, to have the power of retarding Cæsar's activity. After having been confin'd nine months in Alexandria, during which time the whole business of Rome and Italy was at a stand, and whereby the vanquish'd party found means to get strength and become formidable in Africa, Cæsar, instead of quitting Egypt with all expedition, to go where honour and the affairs of state required his presence, abandoned himself to pleasure, and passed whole nights in feasts and other debaucheries with Cleopatra: and at last set out with her to make a tour round the country. They went on board a ship richly ornamented, and took their course up the Nile, attended by four hundred vessels. Cæsar's design was to have gone into Ethiopia, but he

was prevented by his army who began to dislike his proceedings. A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

The report of the progress of Pharnaces in Asia roused him from this lethargy, and brought him to himself. He at last took the resolution of leaving Cleopatra : but before he departed, he took all the precautions necessary for assuring her the throne he had put her in possession of. He took with him her sister Arsinoë, lest that Princess should excite fresh troubles. He likewise left in Alexandria the greatest part of the Roman troops he had with him, in order to keep the people in obedience and submission to the new established government. *He is obliged to quit Egypt, on the report of the progress of Pharnaces in Asia.*
Hirt.

To conclude the whole relating to Cæsar's amours with Cleopatra, 'tis necessary to observe, that the Queen being delivered of a son soon after the Roman General's departure, she called him Cæsario ; in order that his name might imply to whom he owed his birth. Cæsar was not displeased with it : so far from it, that he particularly acknowledged Cæsario for his son, according to the testimony of Anthony. Though Oppian has wrote a book to prove, that the child, which Cleopatra pretended to be Cæsar's son, in fact was not so. *Conclusion of the amours of Cæsar and Cleopatra.*
Suet. Dio. Appian.
A notable subject to write on !

Cæsar kept his intrigue with Cleopatra so little a secret, that having erected a magnificent temple to Venus, by the name of Venus Genetrix, because the Julii looked on themselves as descended from that divinity, he placed the statue of Cleopatra next to that of the goddess.

The year after Cæsar's departure, Cleopatra and her husband made a voyage to Rome. Cæsar received them, and lodged them in his own palace ; he had them acknowledged as sovereigns, friends and allies to the Roman People,

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

and paid them all imaginable honours. After having gain'd so great an ascendant over Cæsar, one must not be surpris'd at Anthony's infatuation and madness for this Egyptian.

Cæsar settles the affairs of Syria and Cilicia.
Hirt.

Cæsar, on his return from Egypt into Syria, receiv'd advice from all hands, that every thing was in confusion at Rome, and that his presence was the only means of procuring a calm. However he thought it necessary to regulate the affairs of the provinces, which lay near him, some of which were expos'd to the incursions of Pharnaces, and others, tho' they had no foreign war to support, or to apprehend, cou'd not but be sensible of the shock the civil war had given to the whole empire. The Kings and petty Princes in and about Syria came in crowds to wait on him, and were graciously receiv'd. Cæsar recommended to them, to be particularly careful of the safety of the province, and sent them home extremely well affected to him and to the Roman people. He also confirm'd Hyrcan in the High-priesthood of the Jews, maugre the representations of Antigonus son of Aristobulus, and gave him leave to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had ordered to be pull'd down. He likewise supported Antipater, in the command he had for a long time exercised in Judea, under Hyrcan's name, which greatly strengthen'd the authority of that Prince.

Joseph.
Ant. XIV.
15. & 16.
& de B.
Jud. I. 7. 8.

Hirt.

From Syria Cæsar went by sea into Cilicia, and having conven'd the states of the province in the city of Tarsus, he prepar'd to go towards Pontus, which Pharnaces had seiz'd, in the manner as shall be presently related.

When he came to Comana, he depriv'd Archilaus (the son of him, whom Pompey had invested with this office) of the Priesthood of Bellona.

Appian.
Mæand.

Bellona. This high dignity, of which I have
 * elsewhere spoken, was by him conferred on
 Lycomedes, or Nicomedes of Bithynia, who,
 according to the testimony of the writer of the
 Alexandrian war, claimed it in right of his An-
 cestors. This however might be only a speci-
 ous pretence, which serv'd to cover an act of
 vengeance against Archelaüs, who was one of
 Pompey's partizans, and to give Cæsar an op-
 portunity of rewarding the services done him
 by Lycomedes.

On his approaching the frontiers of Gallo-
 græcia, he was met by Dejotarus, who had
 not only divested himself of all marks of roy-
 alty, but appeared as a suppliant, and a person
 charged with some heavy accusation. He had
 assum'd this outward humility, knowing that
 Cæsar was greatly incensed against him, and
 had therefore taken all possible means, to se-
 cure to himself some powerful intercessors. He
 excused himself but very indifferently for hav-
 ing taken party with Pompey. He said, that
 being in a country where they knew no other
 authority than Pompey's, and where Cæsar had
 then neither troops, nor any representative, he
 was compelled to obey him, under whose com-
 mand he happened to fall. Whereas in truth,
 he had sided with Pompey thro' affection and
 a persuasion of the justice of his cause.

Cæsar, to refute him, made use of as bad
 reasons as those which the Galatian Prince
 brought in his defence. He pretended that
 Dejotarus had certainly been faulty in regard
 to him, because he cou'd not but know that
 he was the person, whose power Rome and all
 Italy acknowledged, and who was actually in-
 vested with the Consulship at the time of the
 battle

A. R. 705.
 Ant. C. 47.
 * Vol. XI.

*Dejotarus
 sues for
 pardon and
 partly ob-
 tains it.
 Hirt.*

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

battle of Pharsalia. As if the violence, with which he had seized the empire, and had afterwards invaded the Consulship, had been a lawful title, whose authority ought to have been respected by all the Roman Allies. But in the mouth of the stronger, all reasons are valid.

However Cæsar observ'd his usual moderation. He declar'd to Dejotarus, that he forgave him, that is to say, that he wou'd offer no violence to his person : he order'd him to resume his robes, and required a legion for the war against Pharnaces, form'd on the Roman discipline. But he reserved to himself the right of determining, after the war, the contestations between him and the other Tetrarchs. This was one step towards stripping him of the greatest part of his dominions.

Cæsar was no sooner come into Pontus, than he received a deputation from Pharnaces, of whose motions it is time to give some account.

Pharnace, taking advantage of the civil wars to commence hostilities, gains considerable advantages.
Appian.
Mithrid.
Dio. l. XLII.
Hist.

This Prince, the parricide son of Mithridates, at first esteem'd himself very happy, to be acknowledged by Pompey, King of the Bosphorus, and to be stiled friend and ally of the Roman people. But, on the breaking out of the civil war, this opportunity awaken'd his ambition, and whilst the Romans were employing their forces to their mutual destruction, he flattered himself with the hopes of reconquering the dominions of his ancestors, and which he still look'd upon as his patrimony. He began by taking Phanagorea, a city lying beyond the Bosphorus, which Pompey had declared free : He next subdued Colchis ; then entering Pontus, he made himself master of Sinope, which had formerly been the residence of the Kings

Kings his ancestors. Elated by this success, he attack'd the lesser Armenia, which actually belong'd to Dejotarus, and in the absence of that Prince, easily conquer'd it. Lastly, he carried his arms into Cappadocia, and attempted to take that kingdom from Ariobarzanes.

A. R. 705.
An. J.C. 47.

Dejotarus found affairs in this situation, on his return after the battle of Pharsalia. Cæsar was at Alexandria, very much embarrassed, and in very great danger. Domitius Calvinus, by him appointed to take care of the affairs in Asia and the adjacent provinces, was the only resource Dejotarus could apply to, as his own forces were not sufficient to stop the progress of Pharnaces.

Cæsar's Lieutenant was very sensible that the Roman people were not less interested in this war than Dejotarus and Ariobarzanes. He sent orders to Pharnaces immediately to evacuate the lesser Armenia and Cappadocia; and not to make an ill use of the situation the Roman people were then in, by not paying them a proper respect, or by offering violence to their right and authority. So imperious a declaration had need to be back'd by force. Domitius had the command of three legions, but he had been obliged to send two of them to Cæsar's assistance: the one by sea, the other by land. To the remaining one he added two others, composed of Galatians, and other subjects of Dejotarus, arm'd and disciplin'd by that Prince, after the Roman manner; and a fourth, which was just raised in a hurry in the kingdom of Pontus. With these four legions, and some other auxiliary troops, he advanced as far as Nicopolis in the lesser Armenia.

*Defeats
Domitius
Calvinus,
Cæsar's
Lieutenant.*

Pharnaces had to no purpose endeavour'd to amuse

A. R. 705.
Ann. C. 47.

amuse him with a negotiation, and by sending deputies after deputies, to desire things might remain as they were till Cæsar's arrival. By this he only meant to gain time, knowing Cæsar's dangerous situation in Alexandria. He had likewise intercepted some letters, wherein Domitius was ordered to come to Egypt, by the rout of Syria. And not doubting but that Cæsar's Lieutenant wou'd immediately leave the country, a delay and protraction of affairs to him was equal to a victory.

With this view, and to avoid coming to an engagement, or at least not to fight but on advantageous terms, he drew from the city of Nicopolis, under whose walls he was posted, towards the Roman camp, two parallel ditches, at a moderate distance from éach other, each four foot deep. Between these two lines he drew up his infantry in order of battle. As for his cavalry, as it could not possibly act in so confin'd a space, and being moreover superior to that of the Romans, he plac'd them on the flanks, without the ditches.

Domitius, for the very reasons which induced Pharnaces to be on the defensive, was very desirous to come to action, and the disadvantage, which his troops must be exposed to, in attacking the enemy in such a situation, was to him no obstacle. But not having sufficient capacity to conduct such an attack, and being more bold, than knowing, in the art of war, he was defeated by Pharnaces. Dejotarus's two legions gave ground at the very first onset, and immediately run away. The legion raised in Pontus was almost totally cut to pieces. That, which was composed of Pompey's veterans, sustain'd the whole brunt of the action, and retreated

retreated in good order, with the loss of only two hundred and fifty men.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

By this victory, Pharnaces became absolute master of the lesser Armenia, of Cappadocia, and of Pontus. Domitius, who was no longer able to keep the field, assembled, in the best manner he could, the remains of his army, and retired into Asia. The conqueror made an ill use of his prosperity, and by the several acts of power, cruelty and oppression which he committed, seem'd to endeavour to make his government odious.

He was making dispositions to push his conquests as far as Bithynia, and the province of Asia, when he receiv'd advice, that Asander, whom he had appointed Regent of the Bosphorus during his absence, had revolted. This oblig'd him to alter his plan, and to think of reducing that rebel. Whilst this business employ'd his attention, he was traversed by another of greater importance; and he had intelligence of the approach of a more formidable enemy; which was Cæsar. Pharnaces rightly judged, that his first concern was to endeavour to put a stop to him; and accordingly he posted himself on an eminence near Zela or Zicla in Pontus, which place he thought of happy omen, because his * Father had there defeated the Romans commanded by Triarius.

Cæsar comes and gains a victory.

* See Vol. XI.

He observ'd the same conduct with Cæsar, as had succeeded with Domitius. He pretended to sue for peace, at the same time that he was strongly entrench'd, and fully resolved to continue the war. He sent Ambassadors to Cæsar, with instructions, to present him with a crown of gold, and at the same time to declare his entire submission to his will. And as a proof that

A. R. 705.
Ann. C. 47.

that he did not deserve to be treated as an enemy, he strenuously insisted on his not having given any assistance to Pompey.

Cæsar replied, that particular services were to him no compensation for offences committed against the republic : and that after all, he had only serv'd himself in not engaging with a ruin'd party. He added, he was willing to pardon him, provided he would quit Pontus, and repair the damages he had there occasion'd. He refused to accept the golden crown, saying, that Pharnaces ought first to return to his allegiance, and then he might send him such presents as 'twas customary for victorious Generals to receive from their friends.

This artful Prince promised every thing, but never meant to keep his engagements. As he knew, affairs of the utmost importance, and which wou'd admit of no delay, requir'd Cæsar's presence at Rome, he thought by shuffling, and starting difficulties, about the manner and time of fulfilling his engagements, to tire out Cæsar's patience : and that in the end that General, satisfied with having a fair pretence to quit Pontus, wou'd choose to go where his presence was so requisite.

Cæsar easily saw thro' Pharnaces's design : and instead of losing time in cavilling, he resolv'd to put an end to the affair, and to determine the war by a battle : To this resolution, his natural activity and the necessity of circumstances not a little contributed. However his forces were very inconsiderable ; he had only the sixth legion, (which he had brought with him from Alexandria, and which, by long service, fatiguing marches and frequent actions, was reduced to less than a thousand men), one
legion

legion of Dejotarus, and two others, which A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47. had been lately beaten under Domitius. But he knew, that such a leader as himself was worth a whole army. He advanc'd therefore with these troops, within five miles of the enemy.

The country, where Pharnaces was encamp'd, was full of hills separated from each other by deep vallies. Opposite the hill where the King of Bosphorus lay, at only a mile's distance, was another on which Cæsar resolv'd to take his post, and to entrench himself. With this view, he ordered a large collection to be made of fascines, branches of trees, stones, and all sorts of materials necessary for raising a rampart : which order being in a short time executed, he march'd with his legions three hours before day-light, without any baggage : and at sun-rising, to the great surprise of the enemy, had got possession of the hill he had made choice of for his post, and which was the very place where Triarius had been defeated by Mithridates. In a short time all the slaves, which had followed his army, brought up the materials for the rampart ; and whilst the first line of the Roman troops made a front towards the enemy encamped on the opposite hill, the rest of the soldiers work'd hard at the entrenchment.

Pharnaces, who saw this whole proceeding, immediately drew out his army in order of battle at the head of his camp. Cæsar look'd on this as a bravado, not imagining any mortal cou'd be hardy enough to bring troops down into a valley, who must afterwards ascend a very steep hill, before they cou'd attack him. Pharnaces, thro' a presumption of which 'tis to no purpose to seek the motive, dar'd attempt what Cæsar thought impracticable, and
made

A. R. 705. made his motion with such celerity, that he surprised the Romans, who perceived the enemy just upon them, whilst they were yet employ'd at their work. So that Cæsar had not only his workmen to call in, but to order them to arms, and to draw them up in order of battle. All this cou'd not be done, at once, without some disorder, which was augmented by seeing the chariots arm'd with scythes, which march'd in the front of Pharnaces's army. But the Romans soon recover'd themselves from this confusion, and aided by their advantageous situation, easily repulsed the enemy. The victory begun by the right wing, where the veterans of the sixth legion were posted. Soon after, the left and center had the same superiority. Pharnaces's soldiers were either slain or thrown headlong into the valley. Those who escap'd the battle flung away their arms, that they might not impede their flight. Cæsar pursued them, and without giving them time to rally, attack'd their camp, and forc'd it. During the attack of the camp, Pharnaces found means to escape.

*Remark-
able saying
of Cæsar
on this vic-
tory.
Appian.*

'Tis reported that Cæsar himself was astonish'd at the ease with which he gained this victory, and express'd himself in the following manner: "Happy Pompey! such then are the enemies, by whose defeat you have acquir'd the appellation of Great."

In a letter, to one of his friends at Rome, giving an account of this action, he described the rapidity of his victory, by these three remarkable words; *VENI, VIDI, VICI*: I came, saw, and conquer'd. And when he triumph'd on this occasion, he caused a tablet to be carried in the procession, with these very words inscrib'd on it in capitals.

In effect Cæsar might well boast to have completely subdued his enemy by the gain of this single battle : for by it he put an end to the war. Pharnaces having retired to Sinope, was pursued thither by Domitius, who compelled him to quit that city, and soon after the whole country. Thro' his foolish ambition, he now found he had no place left, where to seek protection. For the Bosphorus was in the hands of Asander, who had revolted, as has been related. So that when this fugitive Prince was disposed to return home to his kingdom, he found the rebel in a condition to dispute him the possession. This drew on a battle wherein Pharnaces was slain. Such was the end of all his ambitious projects.

Cæsar, at last at liberty to return to Rome, lost no time after the victory over Pharnaces. He set out the very next day, escorted by a party of horse, ordering the sixth legion to follow him, and receive in Italy the reward due to soldiers, who had done so much and such great services for their General. In passing thro' Gallo-græcia and Bithynia, he settled the affairs of the Princes, and inhabitants of those countries : and 'twas then he took his revenge on Dejotarus, to whom, according to Cicero, he had a personal hatred. He exacted large sums of money from him : took from him Armenia, which the Senate had given him, and bestowed it on Ariobarzanes : he also strip'd him of part of Gallo-græcia, and made a present of it to Mithridates of Pergamus. This same Mithridates was by him ordered to make war on Asander, and appointed King of the Bosphorus, when he had conquer'd it.

We know not particularly, what other regulations

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

gulations Cæsar made, with respect to all those countries. and with respect to Asia properly so call'd. We only know, that his great application was to raise money by all sorts of means: He caus'd payment to be made of those sums of money, which had been promised Pompey, exacting at the same time fresh ones, on various pretences. He made no scruple to plunder temples, and receiv'd a great number of golden crowns from the Princes and inhabitants of different cities and countries. In this he only stuck to his principles, of which he made no secret: saying, "There are two expedients
" absolutely necessary for establishing and con-
" firming a government, soldiers and money:
" And these two expedients mutually assist
" each other. By money, soldiers are raised,
" and secur'd to your interest; and by the sol-
" diers arms, money is levied: and if either
" of these expedients fail, the other cannot
" long subsist." Such were his thoughts, and such was his discourse, which implied no more than the truth; but which to be lawfully put in practice, supposes it to be done by a legal authority, and to some lawful end.

Cæsar, having with his usual application, dispatch'd all the affairs which detain'd him in the Eastern countries, hurried away for Italy, where he arriv'd sooner than was expected. But before I begin the relation of his transactions there, 'tis necessary for me to take notice of several events, which have not yet found place in my narration. In the first place therefore, I shall give an account of the war in Illyricum, between the two factions which then divided the empire: In the next place I shall relate some particular facts, which concern some
Romans

Romans of distinction, and certain people of Greece. And shall defer giving any account of the increase of the vanquish'd party in Africa, and of the commotions in Spain, 'till it shall be necessary for me to speak of Cæsar's wars in those two provinces.

§. II.

The war in Illyricum between the partizans of Cæsar and Pompey. Calenus takes Athens, Megara and Peloponnesus, for Cæsar. Death of Appius Claudius. Prediction of the Pythian Oracle. Sulpicius and Marcellus make choice of a voluntary exile. Constancy of Marcellus. Cicero is ill treated by his brother and nephew. An account of Cicero's disquietudes during his stay at Brundisium. He goes to Cæsar, and is favourably received. State of Rome after the battle of Pharsalia. Cæsar appointed Dictator, and M. Anthony General of the horse. Misconduct of Anthony. His rapine and injustice. Commotions in Rome occasioned by Dolabella the Tribune. Cæsar, on his return to Rome, quells these troubles, without examining into past facts. Cæsar endeavours to raise money at any rate. He makes a sale of the effects of the defeated party, particularly Pompey's, which are bought by Anthony. Discontents 'twixt Cæsar and Anthony on this head. Cæsar ingratiates himself with the people. Rewards the leaders of his party. Calenus and Vatinius appointed Consuls. Cæsar causes himself to be nominated Dictator and Consul for the ensuing year, and takes Lepidus for his Colleague in the Consulship, and for his General of the horse. Sedition among the Veteran soldiers. Cæsar appeases it by his resolution.

A. R. -67.
Ant. C. 47.

resolution. The principles of his conduct in regard to his soldiers.

War in Illyricum between the partisans of Cæsar and Pompey.

Cæf. de B. Civ. III. 9.

WE have seen that Pompey's party was too strong for Cæsar's in Illyricum. However the city of Salonæ, the capital of the country withstood the torrent, and even maintain'd a siege against M. Octavius. This Lieutenant of Pompey, who, with the assistance of Libo, had drove out Dolabella, and taken C. Antonius prisoner, endeavoured at first to persuade the Romans, settled in Salonæ, and masters of the place, to open the gates to him. But not being able to succeed, he resolv'd to attack the city and take it by storm. The Romans, who defended it, were determined, notwithstanding their few numbers, to abide all extremities, sooner than forfeit their fidelity to Cæsar ; and rather than surrender, they set at liberty all their slaves capable of bearing arms, and cut off their women's hair, to make use of it in their engines of war.

Octavius, perceiving their obstinacy, besieged the city in form, and form'd five camps round Salonæ. The besieged made a vigorous defence : and altho' they were in great want of provisions, they held out for a considerable time. 'Till one day about noon, observing that Octavius's soldiers were not at their posts, and seem'd remiss in their duty, they distributed their women and children round the walls, to make a false show to the enemy ; at the same time that they themselves, supported by the slaves to whom they had given freedom, made so vigorous and well-conducted a salley, that they carried Octavius's five camps, one after the other. This obliged him to raise the
siege :

siege : So making what haste he cou'd to his ships with the broken remains of his troops, he return'd to Epirus. This affair happen'd while Pompey was yet at Dyrrachium.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

The Romans of Salonæ had applied to Cæsar, during the siege, for a reinforcement, but he had not been able to send them any. The summer following, the same in which he engaged Pompey, Cornificius came by his order into Illyricum, with two legions. He there had a double war to carry on, with the natives, and with M. Octavius, who after the battle of Pharsalia, had return'd into the gulph with his fleet, and endeavour'd to draw over to his party, the inhabitants of the little isles, and of the coasts of Illyricum. Cornificius, by a conduct equally active and prudent, continually gained some advantage over these twofold enemies.

When Cæsar was in pursuit of Pompey, he was inform'd that several of the vanquish'd party had flung themselves, in great bodies, into Illyricum, on the side of Macedonia. He was apprehensive that they there might become powerful, and imagin'd that Cornificius had need of a reinforcement. He therefore order'd Gabinius to march into that province with some new rais'd legions. Gabinius was one of Pompey's creatures, but had join'd Cæsar, in acknowledgment for having recall'd him from exile, by the law pass'd in his first Dictatorship. Tho' his principles were bad, he nevertheless was brave, but he maintain'd not on this occasion the reputation he had formerly acquir'd in Syria and in Egypt; and at the time his hopes began to flatter him, and fortune seem'd inclin'd to favour him, he met, in Illyricum, with infamy, and death.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

Illyricum being a barren country, it was not an easy matter for Gabinus to subsist an army there, especially as the inhabitants were no friends to Cæsar's party. 'Twas then the most rigid time of the year, and the winter, besides incommoding the troops by its severe cold, prevented any convoys coming by sea. Gabinus, having to contend with all these difficulties, made several attempts, and as often failed : he attack'd castles garrison'd by the Barbarians, and was repulsed with loss. The consequence of which was, that he became contemptible to his enemies ; so that when he returned to Salonnæ they attack'd his army, beat him, and kill'd a great number of his people. Gabinus, having retired into the city with the remains of his defeat, was there seiz'd with a distemper, of which he soon after died.

By his defeat and death, Octavius became absolute in the province. His fleet commanded at sea : and the natives of the country were his friends. Cornificius pressed on all sides with difficulty kept his ground, and Cæsar, then shut up in Alexandria, was at too great a distance, and too much employ'd, to think of Illyricum. The only resource for Cæsar's party in this country, was a man, who has hitherto appear'd in history, as a person of a mean soul, and deprav'd morals, but who nevertheless was of great intrepidity, and understood perfectly well the art of war.

The man, I mean, is Vatinius ; who was then at Brundisium, and being applied to by Cornificius to come to his assistance, notwithstanding an indisposition he then labour'd under, undertook and executed this expedition, with a resolution truly commendable. He had with him

him a good number of veteran soldiers, who A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47. had been left behind at Brundisium, on account of sickness, at the time Cæsar's legions went into Greece. But he wanted ships, or at least he had not sufficient to form a fleet capable of engaging Octavius: Whereupon he wrote to Fufius Calenus, whom Cæsar had left in Achaïa, to send him as many as he had occasion for; but this supply not coming so soon as the exigence of affairs requir'd, he determin'd to make use of such as he had. To some large ships of war, which were in the port of Brundisium, he made an addition of great numbers of small vessels, which he arm'd with beaks: and on board this fleet, compos'd in this manner, he embark'd his veteran troops, and gave chase to Octavius.

This latter actually fled from Vatinius, and even rais'd the siege of Epidaurus, which was then begun. But having had information of the strength of the enemy's fleet, and knowing his own to be far superior in number and rate of ships, he halted in a port of a little island called Tauris, and made all the necessary dispositions for an engagement. As Vatinius pursu'd his course, he saw, all on a sudden Octavius's fleet coming out of harbour in line of battle.

Surpris'd he was, but not disconcerted: he immediately gave the signal for fight; and being sensible that his ships cou'd not engage the enemy's but at great disadvantage, he determin'd to rest the affair entirely on courage, and accordingly order'd the galley on which he was aboard, and which was of five banks of oars, to attack the Admiral-galley of the enemy. In the first shock, which was very violent,

A. R. 704.
Ant. C. 47.

Octavius's galley lost its beak. Immediately the vessels of both parties moved up to the assistance of their Chiefs, and as they closed in on all sides, there was no longer a possibility of working any of them. 'Twas now a close engagement, and nothing cou'd have happened more favourable for Vatinius's soldiers, whose bravery and experience assured them victory, as soon as they could have an opportunity of boarding. Octavius's galley was sunk : many others shar'd the same fate, or were taken ; numbers of his soldiers were kill'd or drown'd, and 'twas with difficulty that he himself escaped with some few ships. Vatinius, after the victory, went to refresh himself in the port, which Octavius had just quitted.

This victory was decisive. Octavius fled to the coast of Greece, from whence he went to Sicily, and afterwards into Africa. No vessel under Pompey's colours dared appear in the Adriatic : and the province of Illyricum obey'd the laws of Cæsar, and the orders of Cornificius. Vatinius after this glorious exploit returned to Brundisium, without the loss of a single ship, nor even, if you take literally the expression of the ancient historian, of a * single man.

*Calenus
takes A-
thens, Me-
gara, and
Peloponne-
sus for Cæ-
sar.*

*Dio. Ap-
pian.*

In Greece, the Athenians and Megarians had with difficulty received Cæsar's yolk. This General, e'er the battle of Pharsalia had been fought, had sent Fufius Calenus, at the head of a considerable detachment, to make war against Pompey's Lieutenants, who were in possession of the Southern provinces. Fufius wou'd have been glad to have penetrated into

* *Suis omnibus incolumibus.*

Pelopon-

Peloponnesus ; but Rutilius Lupus, one of the Chiefs of the contrary party, having taken the precaution to raise a wall cross the Isthmus, Fufius went and laid siege to Athens; and immediately took the Piræus, whose fortifications had been raised by Sylla. Nevertheless the Athenians were so obstinately set against Cæsar, that they still held out, till hearing of Pompey's defeat, they opened their gates to Calenus. Cæsar, whose clemency they implored by their deputies, pardoned them, not without reproaching them in the following manner : “ * Must
 “ you ever be indebted to the glory of your
 “ ancestors, for protecting you from a punish-
 “ ment, which your own actions have incur-
 “ red ?”

The inhabitants of Megara should have followed the example of the Athenians, in their submission. But, to their misfortune they were obstinate enough to stand a siege. After a pretty long resistance, perceiving the enemy intended to storm the city, they thought of letting loose some lions, which Cassius had left to be taken care of in their city, till he should send for them to Rome, for the games he intended to give on his being chosen edile ; which office he then made application for. But the lions were no sooner at liberty than, instead of seising Calenus's soldiers, they turned on the Megarians themselves, and tore several of them to pieces, so that they became objects of compassion and horror to their very enemies. The rest of the inhabitants were sold to slavery. But Calenus had so much consideration and com-

* Ποσάκις ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ σφῶν τῶν προγόνων περισώσει ;
 αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἢ δόξα Appian.

A. R. 705.
 Ann. C. 47.

passion for them, as to sell them to buyers who had some friendship for them, and that at a very moderate price ; to the intent that these unfortunate Megarians might have it in their power to ransom themselves, and that so ancient and illustrious a city might be able to recover itself.

Cæsar's victory at Pharsalia opened a passage for Calenus into Peloponnesus. He marched towards Patræ, where Cato, as I have already mentioned, after leaving the isle of Corcyra, had brought the chief part of Pompey's fleet. On his approach, Cato retired: and Calenus met with no further opposition throughout all Greece.

*Death of
 App. Clau-
 dius. Pre-
 diction of
 the Pythian
 oracle.*

Lucan. l.
 V.

I have only now to take notice of some particular facts, which ought not to be passed over in silence. And the first of this kind which occurs to me, is the death of Appius Claudius. A man more eminent on account of his rank and family, than for his merit, but whose high birth has given him a place among the most illustrious citizens of Rome. He had followed Pompey, whose eldest son had married his daughter, and had been deputed by that General, at the commencement of the war, to command in Achaïa. Appius, being very uneasy, and apprehending a reverse of fortune, more on his own account, than in consideration of the cause he had espoused, determined to consult the oracle at Delphos, on the success of the war. He had ever been addicted to divination in all its branches, and had made a serious study of this pretended science. The difficulty here was to make the Pythia speak. For the oracle had been so long neglected, and the Priestesses got so little honour and profit by the exercise

exercise of her function, that 'twas not worth her while, to expose herself to the fatigue and danger of the frantic rage, which the exhalations of the grot of Apollo excited in her. She therefore refused to enter the cave, and to place herself on the Tripod, till Appius made use of his authority, and compelled her to a compliance. Whereupon she return'd him this answer: " ^a Roman, this war is none of your concern; you shall obtain the country of Eubœa." This prediction, which seems to have been adapted to the inclinations of Appius, which doubtless the Pythia was not unacquainted with, had a different event, than what he, to whom it was addressed, expected. He was in hopes, that undisturbed in some corner of Eubœa, he might see the whole universe in a ferment, without being effected by its emotions. In effect he avoided the disasters of the war, but 'twas by a disease, which brought him to his grave. Pompey appointed Rutilius Lupus his successor, who built the wall cross the Isthmus, as has been related.

After the battle of Pharsalia, two illustrious fugitives, Serv. Sulpicius and M. Marcellus, agreed in the same measures with regard to their conduct, tho' otherwise of very different characters. We have seen them joint Consuls, and found that at the time Marcellus treated Cæsar with great haughtiness, Sulpicius was always inclined to be more moderate. As to the latter he was of a very mild disposition, and was one of the last who determined to go into Greece, in order to join Pompey; and

Sulpicius and Marcellus make choice of a voluntary exile. Constancy of Marcellus.

^a Nihil ad te hoc, Romane, bellum pertinent. Eubœæ Cœla obtinebis. *Val. Max. I. 8. Oros. VI. 15.*

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

what induced him at length to take this hazardous resolution, was probably the ill success which seem'd at first to threaten Cæsar, in the Spanish war against Afranius and Petreius. For Pompey was no sooner defeated than Sulpicius gave over all thoughts of war. He seems even to have done more, and to have at the same time taken the * resolution of giving up the satisfaction of living in his native country. He therefore retired to some city of Greece or Asia, in order to pass the remainder of his days in the study of philosophy and polite learning, to which he had always greatly applied himself. But Cæsar, who paid great regard to mildness and moderation, drew him some time after from this inaction, and appointed him Proconsul of Achaïa, as I shall hereafter have occasion to mention.

As for M. Marcellus, Sulpicius's Colleague, it is a known fact he retired to Mitylene, and there applied himself more than ever, to the study of eloquence and philosophy, having for his instructor Cratippus the philosopher, who is well known by the commendations Cicero bestows on him in several passages. As Marcellus was of a great soul, philosophy to him was not a barren speculation : by its assistance he sustained the traverses of fortune with constancy, and found in the uprightness and purity of his intentions, a consolation for the chance of events. Brutus, ^b speaking as inter-

* What I here mention of Sulpicius, is not actually related of him by any author, but I infer it from some passages in Cicero, particularly in the 7th letter of XI. book to Atticus, and of the 3d of the IV. book, ad Famil.

^b Maximè laudandus est, qui hoc tempore ipso . . . con-

locutor in one of Cicero's dialogues, expresses great admiration of his constancy: But he has expressed himself more fully, and with more energy, in a work of his own, of which Seneca has preserv'd some very memorable passages.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

" I have seen, said he, Marcellus in his exile
" at Mitylene, enjoying all the felicity that hu-
" man nature is capable of, and more desirous
" than ever of useful knowledge. And when
" I left him, I could not think I was taking
" leave of a banished man, but rather that I
" myself was going into banishment." He
added, that Cæsar had passed by Mitylene,
without making any stay there, because he could
not support the sight of a man of so much me-
rit, reduced to a situation so unworthy of him.
" How glorious was it for Marcellus, says
" Seneca, that in his exile he should create
" envy in Brutus, and confusion in Cæsar.
" Each of them has bestow'd a very honour-
" able commendation on him; Brutus was
" concerned to return to Rome without him,
" and Cæsar was ashamed." 'Twas on Cæsar's
return from Asia, after defeating Pharnaces,
that Brutus, who accompanied him, visited
Marcellus at Mitylene.

consoletur se quum consci-
entiâ optimæ mentis, tum
etiam usurpatione & renova-
tione doctrinæ. Vidi enim
Mitylenis nuper virum, at-
que, ut dixi, vidi planè vi-
rum. *Cic. Bruto, n. 250.*

" Brutus ait se vidisse
Marcellum Mitylenis exsu-
lantem, &, quantùm modò
natura hominis pateretur,
beatissimè viventem; neque
unquam bonarum Artium

cupidiorem, quàm illo tem-
pore. Itaque adjicit, visum
sibi se magis in exsilium ire,
qui sine illo rediturus esset,
quàm illum in exsilio relinqui
... Illum exsulem Brutus re-
linquere non potuit, Cæsar
videre. Contigit enim illi
testimonium utriusque. Bru-
tus sine Marcello reverti se
doluit, Cæsar erubuit. *Sen.
de Consol. ad Helv. n. 9.*

A. R. 705.
AEL. C. 47.

I scarce know of any but Sulpicius and M. Marcellus, who thus made choice of a voluntary exile, after the battle of Pharfalia. As for the rest, those, who did not join Cato, in order to renew the war in Africa, had recourse to the conqueror's clemency, and applied for leave to return into Italy, and to Rome. Many of these latter remain'd in Achaia under Calenus, waiting for a decision of their fate from Cæsar's hands, whom other business employ'd for a long time in Alexandria. They all of them sooner or later obtained what they desired : but we are not able to be particular on this head, unless as to what regards the two Q. Cicero's, father and son, who on this occasion acted an unbecoming part.

*Cicero is
ill-treated
by his brother
and
nephew.*

Cic. 2d
Att. 1. XI.

It must be remembered, that Q. Cicero, brother to the Orator, had serv'd as Cæsar's Lieutenant in Gaul. This however did not prevent his siding with Pompey in the civil war, which could not but be highly displeasing to his former General. Besides Cæsar thought, that he was the occasion of his brother's leaving Italy, and ^a had heat up for him. This is the expression he made use of, to imply the signal of his departure. Cicero was at Brundisium, in great anxiety as to what treatment he was to expect, when he was informed of this expression of Cæsar : and tho' he had already cause to complain of his brother ; yet as he had ever had a great affection and regard for him, he immediately wrote to Cæsar, in the following terms. “ I am ^b not less sensibly
“ concern'd

^a Quintum fratrum litum
meæ profectiois fuisse. Cic.
ad Att. XI. 10.

^b De Quinto fratre meo non
minus laboro, quàm de me
ipso : sed eum tibi commen-
dare

“ concern’d for my brother, than for myself : A. R. 705.
 “ and tho’ in my present situation, ’twould Ant. C. 47.
 “ be presumption in me to speak in his behalf,
 “ yet thus far I dare venture, to entreat you
 “ not to think, that ’twas through his fault
 “ that I fail’d in duty, or affection to you. He
 “ always exhorted me to remain in your inte-
 “ rest : and when we set out together from
 “ Italy, he only accompanied me, not led me,
 “ in that journey. In all other respects, ’twou’d
 “ be improper for me to intercede for him :
 “ and your natural mildness, and the friend-
 “ ship subsisting ’twixt you and him, must
 “ determine you. But if the consideration of
 “ my name can be of no service to him, at
 “ least I beg, and repeat my instances, that it
 “ may do him no detriment.”

This letter, which is full of brotherly affec-
 tion, is at the same time wrote with great pru-
 dence and circumspection, and does honour to
 Cicero. His brother did not observe the like
 conduct in regard to him : for when he retired
 to Patræ; after Pompey’s defeat, he was not
 satisfied with declaiming against Cicero, to any
 one that would give him the hearing, he even
 contriv’d to make Cæsar acquainted with his
 unbecoming invectives. And his son, a youth
 of a violent, impetuous temper, went into A-
 sia, not so much with intention to obtain his

dare hoc meo tempore non
 audeo. Illud duntaxat tamen
 audebo petere abs te, quod
 te oro, ne quid existimes ab
 illo factum esse, quo minùs
 mea in te officia constarent,
 minusve te diligerem : poti-
 ùsque semper illum auctorem
 nostræ conjunctionis fuisse,

meique itineris comitem, non
 ducem. Quare ceteris in re-
 bus tantum ei tribues, quan-
 tum humanitas tua vestra-
 que amicitia postulat. Ego
 ei ne quid apud te obsum, id
 te vehementer etiam atque
 etiam rogo. *Id. ibid.*

A. R. 705, father's pardon, as to impeach his uncle. All
 Ant. C. 47. Cæsar's friends, who were for the most part
 also Cicero's, resented the ingratitude of his
 brother. They nevertheless were favourable to
 him, knowing, that though Cicero was, with-
 out doubt, concern'd at the ill return made
 him by his relations, yet he was far from de-
 siring to be reveng'd on them. Quintus the
 son, who met with Cæsar at Antioch, obtain'd
 the pardon he came to apply for, thro' the re-
 commendation of Hirtius.

*Particu-
 lars of Ci-
 cero's un-
 easiness du-
 ring his
 stay at
 Brundisi-
 um.*

Cic. ad
 Att. l. XI.

This was not the only vexation Cicero met
 with, during his stay at Brundisium. Not to
 mention his domestic affairs, his estate running
 to ruin, the bad œconomy of his wife, the un-
 happy situation of his favourite daughter Tul-
 lia, who was obliged to be divorced from Do-
 labella, and had not wherewith to support her
 rank. All these facts concern Cicero's private
 life, and are no part of a general history. But
 besides so many subjects of grief, the cruel un-
 certainty he remained in for near a year, was to
 him so tormenting, that he was absolutely di-
 spirited.

Cic. Phil.
 II. 59.

Immediately on his arrival at Brundisium,
 he ran a very great risk. For presently after
 Anthony also came there, with the victorious
 legions of Pharsalia. He might, had he been
 so disposed, put Cicero to death, who had re-
 turn'd into Italy of his own accord, or at least
 without any sign manual of Cæsar. Anthony
 forebore making use of his power, and in the
 sequel made great merit of this pretended piece
 of service, which Cicero very rightly stiles a
 highwayman's courtesy, who boasts to have
 given a person his life, because he did not de-
 prive him of it. But at last he acknowledges,
 that

that Anthony, at that juncture, had the power of disposing of him, as he thought proper. Tho' he was freed from this danger, yet he was not free from inquietude. For having conceiv'd hopes, that Cæsar would not be long before he came into Italy, or at least, that wherever he might happen to be, he would not fail sending him some assurances of his friendship ; the Alexandrian war entirely disconcerted him. Cæsar was then too busy to think of objects more remote, and was a long time without sending any advices into Italy. During this interval, he was nominated Dictator ; and Mark Anthony having under him the title and authority of General of the horse, Cicero's fate still depended on him.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

This General of the horse was far from observing the same moderation, or confining himself within the same bounds as his Dictator. He had like to have so far affronted Cicero, as to force him to leave Italy, on the following pretence. Cæsar, on a false report which had been spread, that Cato was returned into Italy, and intended to appear publicly at Rome, wrote to Anthony, by no means to suffer it : adding, that his intention was, that no one of those, who had taken up arms against him, should be permitted to stay in Italy, without his express leave. Anthony acquainted Cicero with this letter, at the same time making indifferent apologies for his being obliged to carry it into execution. Cicero dispatch'd a friend to him, to represent, that 'twas by vertue of a letter from Dolabella, wrote by Cæsar's order, that he had come to Brundisium. By this means he was permitted to stay there ; but he had the mortification to find the exception, made

Cic. ad
Att. XI. 7.

A. R. 74.
Ant. C. 48.

in his favour, particularised in the manifesto published by Anthony, conformable to Cæsar's letter. So that he saw himself publicly posted up, as under subjection to the conqueror, at the same time, so many others either still maintain'd the cause of liberty, or at least made their peace privately, and without making the world acquainted with it.

Cic. ad
Att. XI.
16, 17.

Such treatment could not but make him uneasy, and the Dictator's silence still kept him in greater perplexity. At length, about the beginning of June, he receiv'd a letter, which, he was told, came from Cæsar. But as it was couch'd in indefinite terms, and wrote with great coolness, he suspected its being supposititious. 'Tis probable he was not out in his conjecture, and that Balbus and Oppius, friends to Cæsar and Cicero, had, in conjunction with Atticus, fram'd this letter to comfort and give ease to a man, who sunk under the weight of his afflictions. Cicero remained two months

Cic. ad
Fam.
XIV. 23.

longer in this uncertainty. In the beginning of August, he receiv'd a letter from Cæsar, with which, he owns to his wife, he was tolerably satisfied. This is doubtless the same letter he speaks of, in his oration for Ligarius, and wherein Cæsar wishes him to continue to enjoy all the prerogatives, and all the honours he had been possessed of, at the same time permitting him to retain the title of Imperator, with the Lictors and Fasces, which had constantly remain'd with him, since his being Proconsul of Cilicia.

ProLig. n.
7.

Cic. ad
Att. XI.
20, 21.

Cicero, to his real evils, added imaginary ones. He suspected the facility with which Cæsar forgave his enemies, and conceiv'd it might be only an artifice : and imagined that

the

the Dictator, not having actually time to examine into the different circumstances of the persons who applied to him, reserved himself for a further inquiry, when he should be more at leisure. Cicero was not entirely free from these apprehensions, 'till Cæsar's return into Italy. He went to meet him, and was receiv'd by him in so gracious and frank a manner, that at last he was persuaded that the past was entirely forgotten.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

He goes to Cæsar, and is favourably received.

Cæsar, on his coming to Rome, found every thing there in a flame. Of which I must now give the reader some account.

Plut. Cic.

We do not abound in memoirs as to what passed at Rome, and in Italy, during Cæsar's absence. He himself is silent on that head in his commentaries; and his continuators, after his example, have confin'd themselves to the relation of military transactions only. So that for the principal facts relating to civil affairs, we have scarce any other authority than Dio, an insipid writer, with whom 'tis common to abridge and alter whatever passes under his pen, and who should be read with diffidence and circumspection, if you would not be led into very great errors.

'Twas either by public report, or private letters, that the account of the battle of Pharsalia came to Rome. For Cæsar, through moderation and modesty, forbore sending any account of it to the Senate; not being willing to insult Pompey's ill success, or to seem to triumph at the misfortunes of the public. The city had for a long time been subject to Cæsar. So that Pompey's defeat and death produced no other effect there, than to strengthen and confirm the conqueror's power. Every thing remain'd

State of Rome after the battle of Pharsalia.

Dio. l. XLII.

A. R. 705. quiet during the administration of Servilius I-
A. J. C. 47. sauricus the Consul.

Cæsar 'Twas he doubtless who, by vertue of his
Dictator, post, and by order of the Senate, nominated
and Ant. Cæsar Dictator for the whole ensuing year. The
General choice of a General of the horse properly de-
pende pended on the Dictator: but Cæsar was at too
great a distance, to wait his orders: So that
his friends procured this honourable post for
Anthony. The election of the other magi-
strates, such as Consuls, Pretors, Curule E-
diles, and Questors, became impracticable af-
ter the nomination of the Dictator. As soon
as there was a Dictator appointed, his power
absorbed the rest of the magistracy, who had
no longer any function, but such as he pleased
to assign them; and he particularly presided
at elections. This right in equity was, in the
present circumstances, back'd by force: and
no body was so hardy as even to form con-
jectures of Cæsar's intentions in regard to the ad-
ministration, as Pompey's ruin had made his
power absolute. So that on the first of Janu-
ary there was no other magistrate in the whole
empire (the Tribuns and Ediles of the people
excepted) but Cæsar, Dictator, then shut up in
Alexandria, and Mark Anthony, General of
the horse, enjoying in Rome an unlimited, un-
divided power.

Ant. conduct 'Twould have been difficult for the admini-
of Antony. stration to have fallen into worse hands: nor
can any thing be imagined more vicious, or
more indecent than Anthony's personal behavi-

Cic. Phil. our. Constant debaucheries, drunkenness, the
Phil. 6. low company of buffoons and actresses, intem-
perance perance to that excess, as even to vomit in the
Phil. An. Forum, and in the execution of his office; these
Ant. were

were the scenes wherewith Rome was entertained by its single magistrate. And 'twas thought very extraordinary that, at the time Cæsar exposed himself to the greatest fatigues, and confronted the greatest dangers, in order to put an end to a war of such importance, and of so great difficulty ; he, who appeared the chief of his party, should have no other concern than what to eat, and wherewith to get drunk.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

Yet this shameless manner of living in Anthony, hurt none but himself ; but his rapine and exactions were the ruin of many citizens. Descended from a prodigal, extravagant father, and he himself still more prodigal and extravagant, one may guess at the ill situation of his affairs. Seeing therefore the power in his hands, he made use of that opportunity to retrieve his fortune, or rather, to indulge his rage of expence. He pillaged on all sides, sold publicly the laws of property, bestowing on some, estates, which they had no right to, and taking from others, their lawful inheritance. It may be imagined he did not want for pretences, in a city abounding with malecontents, and whose citizens, for the most part, regretted the loss of the ancient manner of government, and only submitted to the reigning tyranny, thro' necessity.

*His rapine
and injustice.*

He also endeavoured to terrify people into obedience. For which purpose, when he presided at the public assemblies and games, he kept his sword by his side, which had never been done before in Rome ; and was always accompanied by a number of soldiers ready to put his orders in execution.

Dio.

Commotions in Rome

The city, by resigning its liberty, might have hop'd to have been no longer embroiled :

*occasioned
by Dolabella*

in the Tri-

but

A. R. 705.
An. C. 47.

but Dolabella would not permit the Romans to enjoy that slender consolation. He was a young man of great parts and courage, bold and ambitious, and further, involv'd in debt, as were the majority of those who had sided with Cæsar. In order to get rid of all his creditors, and at the same time make a number of friends, by a project which could not fail pleasing the majority of the victorious party, he reviv'd the scheme attempted the preceding year by Cœlius, and resolved to procure an act of insolvency. The office of Tribun of the people, which subsisted, even when all other offices were vacant, was the only method for Dolabella to put his design in execution. Altho' Patrician born, he got over that obstacle, by enrolling himself, after the example of Clodius, in the Plebeian order, and was appointed Tribun. He was no sooner invested with the office, than he proposed his law for abolishing all debts ; and, in order to ingratiate himself with the populace, he proposed a second, as Cœlius had done, which exempted tenants from paying any rent to their landlords. These laws highly incensed all the men of probity yet remaining in Rome, and two of Dolabella's colleagues, * Asinius and Trebellius, formally opposed them. This gave rise to quarrels, animosities and skirmishes, which put the whole city in a ferment.

It suited Anthony's circumstances extremely well, to take the advantage of a law, which cancell'd all debts : so that at first he favour'd Dolabella's proposal. But it happened, that at this very time he had some suspicions, well

* *This Asinius is perhaps the famous Pollio.*

or ill founded, of a criminal intrigue between his wife and the Tribun. Whereupon he divorced his wife, who was likewise his cousin german, the daughter of C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague. And as this made a breach 'twixt him and Dolabella, he made an offer of his service to the Senate, who opposed with all its might the passing of laws, productive of sedition, and destructive of all faith in society, and credit in trade. Numbers of people, who had taken up arms on this occasion, sided with the Tribun. Anthony, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, which enjoin'd him, in conjunction with the other Tribuns, to be careful of the safety of the city, forbid any one to carry arms, who was not in the service of the republic, and introduced fresh troops into Rome, besides what he had for his proper guard. Dolabella, who perceiv'd himself favoured by the multitude, maintain'd his ground obstinately, both against the Senate and against the General's soldiers. And what made him the rather persist in this obstinacy, were the accounts receiv'd of Cæsar's situation in Alexandria, which was said to be very hazardous, insomuch that 'twas the opinion of many that he must there perish. When Cæsar had surmounted all the difficulties in Egypt, Dolabella, apprehending his just displeasure, seem'd to be willing to be more moderate. But the commotions in Asia, and the war with Pharnaces, being still so many impediments to the Dictator's return, the Tribun resumed his audacity, and once more laid aside that circumspection he had assum'd thro' policy, and a dread of the Dictator's resentment.

During these transactions, Anthony was obliged to leave Rome, to reduce to obedience

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

Cic. 2d
Att. XI.
21, 22.

Cæſar's veteran legions, who threaten'd to mutiny. The victorious legions had not received the rewards which had been promiſed them, and nevertheleſs they perceiv'd that freſh ſervice was expected from them. For the twelfth legion was under orders to go into Sicily, doubtleſs to be transported from thence into Africa againſt Cato, Scipio and Juba. This legion refus'd to ſtir, unleſs they firſt were paid what had been promiſed them: and when their officers endeavour'd to bring them back to their duty, by reminding them of their being liable to be puniſhed as mutineers, they were pelted with ſtones, and oblig'd to retire. The other legions follow'd their example, and declar'd they would not march, unleſs they were firſt paid their arrears. To put a ſtop to this diſorder was the buſineſs of Anthony's journey: but Dio, who is the only author who takes notice of it, leaves us in the dark as to its ſucceſs. He only ſays, that Anthony, by an unheard of and unprecedented ſtep, created to himſelf a Vicegerent, and appointed L. Cæſar, his uncle by the mother's ſide, Governor of Rome in his abſence.

L. Cæſar was a man of high birth, great dignity, and conſummate virtue: very capable of commanding people ſenſible of ſhame, or reſpect; but very unfit to cope with a perſon of Dolabella's reſolution and audacity. So that during his adminiſtration, the ſedition was carried to the higheſt exceſs. The creditors on one ſide, and the debtors on the other, form'd two camps in the city, between whom were daily ſkirmiſhes. They alternately ſeiz'd advantageous poſts, and attack'd each other with
fire

fire and sword. Nay the disorder was so great, that the Vestals thought themselves not safe in their temple, and remov'd from thence the sacred relicks, with which they were intrusted.

Anthony, on his return to Rome, received a fresh order from the Senate, to be careful of the safety and tranquillity of the public. The danger increased: Dolabella grew desperate, and having fixed a day for the passing of his laws, he barricaded the avenues to the Forum, erected wooden turrets to prevent any approach, and made such dispositions as are usual in a regular war, or where a siege is to be maintain'd. Anthony on his part assembled his troops in the Capitol, with which he forc'd the barriers, seized and broke to pieces the tables on which the laws were inscribed, and having taken some of the ringleaders prisoners, he immediately executed them, by flinging them down the Tarpeian rock. This severity however did not put an end to the troubles, and the sedition was not appeased 'till the news of the sudden defeat of Pharnaces, and of Cæsar's being on his march home. Nor were the divisions and animosities totally suppressed till the arrival of the Dictator, whose presence inforc'd an awe and respect, which quieted every body.

The least Dolabella could have expected, was the loss of Cæsar's favour. But this subtle politician was never severe to such, as had been, or might be useful to him. Besides the general complaint against Anthony rendered his adversary's cause more favourable. Cæsar put them both on a level, by pardoning them both.

Nor did he call any one to account; either of his own, or Pompey's party, for what was past. But as he had been at a very great expence,

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

Cæsar, on his return to Rome, quells these troubles, without examining into past facts.

Cæsar, endeavours to raise money at any rate.

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

pence, and as the African war had need of immediate supplies, he endeavour'd to raise money by all sorts of methods. It had been customary to present crowns of gold, and to erect statues to victorious Generals. On this pretence Cæsar receiv'd great sums, under the title of gratuities, and voluntary contributions. He also borrow'd considerably of private persons and from cities : who well knew, according to Dio, that they should never be repaid the sums they lent. But this is that Historian's own construction ; for 'tis more probable, that Cæsar, who made a point of being popular, had no thoughts of defrauding his creditors, whom he had made such, through compulsion. Whatever might be his intentions, his death put it out of his power to reimburse them.

He makes a sale of the effects of a defeated party, particularly of Pompey's, which are bought by Anthony.

Another resource, in itself detestable, but which he thought expedient to raise money, was to confiscate the goods and effects of such as had been kill'd in the civil war. Pompey himself was not exempt from this forfeiture. His estate, his house, his gardens, and his goods were sold like those of a public enemy, and bought by Anthony. Cicero has treated this transaction with a force of sentiment which excites the grief and indignation of his readers, even at this distance of time. 'Tis one of the finest passages of the second Philippic. “ Cæsar,

• Cæsar Alexandria se recepit : felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur ; meâ autem sententiâ si quis Reipublicæ sit infelix, felix esse non potest. Hastâ positâ pro æde Jovis Statoris, bona (miserum me !

consumptis enim lacrymis, tamen infixus animo hæret dolor) bona, inquam, Cn. Pompeii Magni voci acerbissimæ subjecta præconis. Una illa in re servitutis oblita civitatis ingemuit ; servientibusque

“ far, says he, return’d from Alexandria to A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.
 “ Rome, happy in his own opinion, but in mine
 “ no one can be so, who has made his country
 “ unhappy. He gave orders for an auction
 “ before the temple of Jupiter Stator; and
 “ there the effects of Pompey (alas! tho’ my
 “ tears cease to flow, yet my grief is still ri-
 “ veted in my heart) the effects, I say, of
 “ Pompey were shamefully proclaim’d by a
 “ bawling cryer. In this single circumstance
 “ Rome forgot its slavery, to give a free
 “ course to its sighs: and spite of the terror
 “ which had enslaved their spirits, the Roman
 “ people had yet the liberty of venting their
 “ groans. Every body was in expectation,
 “ nor could they guess, who could be so im-
 “ pious, so mad, such an enemy to gods and
 “ men, as by bidding for the effects of Pompey
 “ to acknowledge them a legal forfeiture. An-
 “ thony was the only person who offered.
 “ Among so many villains, capable of attempt-
 “ ing any thing, who attended that auction,
 “ Anthony alone dared commit a crime, which
 “ shocked the most daring audacity.”

One may judge by these violent invectives
 how much the old partisans of Pompey, who
 had still a majority in Rome, were affected at
 seeing the effects of this great man sold at a
 public sale. The want of money was Cæsar’s

videntibusque animis, quum
 omnia metu tenerentur, ge-
 mitus tamen populi Romani
 liber fuit. Expectantibus
 omnibus, quisnam esset tam
 impius, tam demens, tam
 diis hominibusque hostis, qui
 ad illud scelus sectionis au-

deret accedere, inventus est
 nemo prætor Antonium, præ-
 fertim quum tot essent cir-
 cum hastam illam qui omnia
 auderent. Unus inventus est,
 qui id auderet, quod omni-
 um fugisset & reformidasset
 audacia. *Cic. Phil. II. n. 64.*

motive;

A. R. 725.
Ant. C. 47.

motive : but ought this motive to have been more prevalent with him than the impolicy of exasperating the people, or than the several instances of mildness and generosity, which he had shewn on every other occasion, wherein the memory of his unhappy rival was concerned ?

*Discontent
'twixt Cæ-
sar and An-
thony on
that head.*

This ill got booty did not long prosper with its purchaser : all the moveables being presently dissipated, spoilt or lost. Anthony in that not only followed the bent of his foolish extravagant temper ; but as he considered this, rather as an acquisition, than as a purchase, he persuaded himself he should never be called upon for payment of the purchase-money. This was by no means Cæsar's intention ; who was very willing to give him time, but who nevertheless at his return from Africa, whither Anthony had not followed him, demanded, for the public use, the money, that Pompey's effects had been appraised at and sold for. Anthony was not at all pleased with this proceeding : and in my opinion, there is something charming in the manner Cicero makes him express himself on this occasion. He introduces him expostulating in the following manner, which at once denotes his surprise and indignation.

“ ² Does Cæsar demand money of me ? have

² A me C. Cæsar pecuni-
am ! Cur potius, quam ego
ab illo ? An ille sine me vi-
cit ? At ne potuit quidem.
Ego ad illum belli civilis cau-
sa attuli : ego leges perni-
ciosas rogavi : ego arma
contra Consules imperatores-
que populi Romani, contra
Senatum populumque Roma-

num, contra deos patrios,
arasque & focos, contra pa-
triam tuli. Num sibi soli
vicit ? Quorum facinus est
commune, cur non sit eo-
rum præda communis ?

Jus postulabas. Sed quid
ad rem ? plus ille poterat. *Id.*
ibid. n. 72.

“ not

“ not I the same pretensions to demand it of A. R. 705.
 “ him ? Has he conquered without me ? he Ant. C. 47.
 “ could not. ’Twas I, who furnish’d him
 “ with a pretence for the civil war. ’Twas I,
 “ who proposed laws pernicious to the public.
 “ ’Twas I, who took up arms against the Con-
 “ suls and Generals of the Republic, against
 “ the Senate and the Roman People, against
 “ the gods of my country, against the altars,
 “ and sacred hearths, against my very country.
 “ Has he only conquered for himself ? Since
 “ we are equally engaged in the crime, why
 “ should we not equally share the booty ?”

Cicero thinks this discourse very reasonable.

“ Your demands were just, says he to Anthony,
 “ but what’s that to the purpose, the power
 “ was in Cæsar’s hands.” This appeared, by
 Cæsar’s making a distress on the buyer and
 on his sureties : which put Anthony under the
 necessity of exposing to sale the sorry remains
 of Pompey’s goods and effects, in order to raise
 money to satisfy his present demand. Some
 prior creditors opposed this sale : and in the
 interim, Cæsar set out for Spain, to make war
 against Pompey’s children. Cicero does not
 inform us, whether Anthony was at last obli-
 ged to pay. ’Tis certain that Cæsar was after-
 wards reconciled to him, and that he kept pos-
 session of Pompey’s house.

No doubt but the rest of Cæsar’s friends, as
 well as Anthony, took care to enrich them-
 selves at the expence of the vanquished party.
 Cicero makes particular mention of P. Sylla,
 who was pretty deep in these no less base, than Cic. de
 cruel acquisitions. He had made so good use Off. II. 29.
 of his kinsman’s Dictatorship, that under that
 of Cæsar, he return’d to the carnage, and was

one

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.
*Cæsar in gratiam
Amili
cum the
page.
Dic.*

Suet. Cæsar.
c. 42.

one of the most forward and eager purchasers. At the same time that Cæsar endeavoured to raise money by various methods, he was no less studious to gain the good will of the people: which is certainly a point of great importance to a new government. To that end, he pursued, at least in part, the plan laid down by Dolabella; and made no scruple of being liberal of other people's effects. 'Tis true he went not so far as a general abolition of debts: he positively refused it, tho' solicited to it by the people; saying, that he himself was incumbered with debts, but that he had no design to defraud his creditors. However, besides the mitigation already granted by him, to the debtors, in his first Dictatorship, he further indulged them, by a discharge of all arrears accruing since the commencement of the civil war. And with respect to the tenants, he eased the poor citizens by an order, importing, that all, not renting above two thousand sesterces annually in Rome (fifteen pounds, twelve shillings and sixpence) should be * exempt from payment of a year's rent, and of a quarter's only, in the other parts of Italy.

*He re-wards the chiefs of his party.
Caius & Vatinius appointed Consuls.*

Cæsar's next care, which was not less essential, was to reward the leaders of his party, and the companions of his victory; by giving them promotions both in church and state. Notwithstanding the current year was near elapsed, he created, as I have already observ'd, Caius and Vatinius Consuls. He also appointed the Prætors, amongst whom was Sallust the Historian, who by this means took his seat a-

+ De Pet. vet. II. 2. * This is Gronovius's † explanation of Suetonius, who in this passage is somewhat obscure.

gain in the Senate, from whence he had been excluded by the last Censors. And that he might have more places to bestow, he increased the number of Prætors, for the ensuing year, to ten.

Vatinius's Consulship, which continued but a few days, was matter of mirth to Cicero. He said, that there had happened, in Vatinius's Consulship, a very extraordinary prodigy, in that there had been no change of seasons during his whole magistracy. And on Vatinius's reproaching him, that he had not been to see him, during a fit of sickness, which he had at that time; "I did intend, replied Cicero, to have visited you, during your Consulship, but I was * benighted." Cicero was always affected by whatever appeared ridiculous or indecent, and on those occasions he could not be silent.

Catullus considered the affair more seriously; and ^a was so disgusted at the personal indignity of Vatinius, as in his poetical hyperbole to wish for death, rather than live to see the Consulship degraded by so contemptible a magistrate. Cæsar however bestow'd some places on persons of merit, but he was obliged to seek them in the adverse party. He gave the government of Achaïa to Serv. Sulpicius, and of Cisalpine Gaul to Brutus. Doubtless the Greeks had reason to applaud the administration of so accomplished a Magistrate as Sulpicius. With

* Herein I follow Macrobius, which lasted but one day, and which we shall have occasion to take notice of hereafter.

^a Per Consulatum pejerat Vatinius.

Quid est Catulle? quid moraris emori? Epig. 50.
respect

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.
Plut. Brut.

respect to Brutus, Plutarch is an evidence that he treated his province with all imaginable humanity and mildness ; and what is more remarkable, he ascribed all the merit to Cæsar, and endeavoured to procure, for him, the love and esteem of the people. Brutus was a person of that probity and veracity, that when he sought Cæsar's protection after the battle of Pharsalia, he immediately laid aside all animosities, and from that time served him as a faithful friend. Tho' the glory of avenging oppressed liberty made him afterwards strangely change his opinion in that respect ; yet this opinion, as it will appear, was not absolutely conformable to his own private sentiments, but proceeded from a foreign impulse. The inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul expressed their gratitude to their virtuous Governor, by erecting him a statue in the market-place of Milan, which was yet to be seen in the days of Plutarch.

*Cæsar gets
himself nomi-
nated
Dictator
and Consul
for the en-
suing year,
and takes
Lepidus for
his Colleague
and for his
General of
the horse.*

Cæsar made all necessary preparations for his speedy passage into Africa, where the remains of Pompey's party were principally assembled, and became every day more formidable. He got himself to be continued in the Dictatorship, and to be appointed Consul for the subsequent year, and he took, for his colleague in the Consulship, and at the same time for his General of the horse, M. Lepidus, who, as I have already related, had done him the service of nominating him Dictator for the first time, contrary to all rules, he being himself no more than Prætor. Lepidus being invested with these two dignities, became the principal person in the state, in the absence of the Dictator,

tator, whom he represented as well in all Italy, as in Rome. A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

Every thing now seem'd ready for Cæsar's departure. A furious sedition, which broke out among the old legions, might possibly have retarded him, if the vigour and intrepidity of the most undaunted soul that ever existed, had not crush'd in its infancy, an evil, which sapp'd the very foundation of his fortune.

I have already mention'd that these veteran soldiers brook'd ill their not having yet receiv'd the rewards which had been promised them : and growing more bold, as they perceiv'd themselves more necessary, they insolently insisted on the performance of their General's promise, and even demanded their discharge, as having compleated their time of service. Sedition among the veteran soldiers. Suet. Cæs. c. 70. Appian. Civil. l. II. Dio.

The sedition first broke out in Campania : where the tenth legion signalised itself for being the most mutinous, till then particularly attach'd to Cæsar, and by him as distinguishedly honour'd : but the remembrance of those favours only serv'd to increase their pride and audacity. Cæsar had not at that time wherewith to satisfy their demands. He could only give them fresh assurances : and accordingly sent Sallust, who had been just created Prætor, with instructions to acquaint them, from him, that as soon as an end should be put to the African war, besides the distributions of land and money already due to them, he would add a further gratuity of a thousand denarii (about thirty guineas) to each man.

These offers, so wide of the soldiers expectations, serv'd only to exasperate them the more. Sallust was obliged to his flight for the

A. R. 75.
A.D. C. 47.

safety of his person : and the seditious, in the extremity of their resentment, immediately set out for Rome, pillaging and plundering all the way of their march. They even kill'd several persons, among others, two old Prætors, Cosconius and Galba.

He appears it by his resolution.

Cæsar was under apprehensions for the city. He caused the gates to be shut, and garrison'd the city with what troops he had. But he took these measures for the security of Rome, and not of his own person : for as soon as he was inform'd of the arrival of the mutineers in the field of Mars, he went to them ; maugre the representations of his friends, who were concern'd for his safety. He boldly mounted his Tribunal, and with a menacing tone of voice, ask'd the soldiers what had brought them thither, and what they wanted. This first step, so bold and imperious, began to disconcert the mutineers. They durst not mention the rewards ; the delay, in the distribution of which, had occasion'd the mutiny. They contented themselves with representing, that being worn out by fatigue, and impoverish'd by the blood they had lost in so many engagements, they were in hopes they might obtain their discharge. “ I give it you,” replied Cæsar, without any hesitation : and after a short silence, to mix something more mild, without derogating from the dignity and authority of his command, he added, “ and when I shall have triumph'd with other troops, I nevertheless shall fulfil my engagements with you.”

The seditious were thunderstruck by these words. They had no notion that Cæsar wou'd have given them their discharge, at a time he stood in so much need of their service. The
promise

promise of their being rewarded confounded them ; and they were piqued with jealousy to think, that after having supported the fatigue, and undergone the dangers of so many important wars, the honour of triumphing on that account should be reserv'd for other troops. These several reflections still increased their confusion ; but there yet appeared a spirit of mutiny among them, because probably they could not be persuaded that Cæsar would put his threats in execution, and dispense with their service. The Dictator on his part was for retiring, as having no more to say to them : but his friends conjured him not to treat the companions and assistants in his victories, with so much coldness and severity. Whereupon he consented to speak to them once more, and to begin his speech he made use of the word *Quirites*, as if he should say citizens, because he no longer considered them, upon the footing of soldiers.

This expression compleated their confusion. They insisted, that they were soldiers, and had recourse to the most submissive entreaties, protesting the sincerity of their repentance. They ask'd it as the greatest favour, that he would take them with him into Africa, promising that they alone would defeat the enemy how numerous soever, and even offered to submit to a decimation if he thought proper. Cæsar having brought them to the point he wish'd for, nevertheless, for some time, supported his resolution. He declared he had no intention to spill their blood ; but said that soldiers, who were yet capable of service, and had refused to obey orders, deserv'd no better treatment than to be broke. However their solicitations and

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 47.

entreaties in the end got the better of his constancy, and he seem'd to grant them as a favour, what it was his interest earnestly to desire. He continued only inflexible with respect to the tenth legion, to whom he reproach'd their ingratitude, after so many marks of favour shown them. The soldiers of that legion were in the utmost despair, and not being able to obtain their pardon, voluntarily followed him into Africa. Tho' they came thither without being ordered, Cæsar however made use of them : but as they lay under the ignominy of being the most seditious and most obstinate, he expos'd them on all hazardous occasions, in order to get rid of them. And such as escap'd, and surviv'd the war, did not however escape further punishment. They were retrench'd a third of their share in the booty, and in the distribution which he made of the lands, on his return to Italy.

The principles of his conduct with respect to his soldiers.
Suet. Cæs. c. 67.

'Twas ever his maxim to treat deserters and mutineers with rigour : but for other faults, he was more mild and tractable. He often, after some considerable victory dispensed with their ordinary duties, and permitted them to indulge themselves in all reasonable liberties, saying with great good humour, ^a that his soldiers, in the midst of pleasure and good cheer, could nevertheless fight stoutly, when there was an occasion. In his harangues, he did not address them, after the manner of the ancient Roman Generals, by the appellation of *soldiers*, but he made use of a more endearing expression, cal-

^a Jactare solitus, milites suos etiam unguentatos bene pugnare posse, nec *militari* eos pro concione, sed blandiori nomine *commilitones* appellabat. Suet. Cæs. c. 67.

ling them *comrades*. He was also very careful about their cloathing, and ornamented their arms with gold and silver, as well because they naturally lov'd magnificence, as that the value of their armour might make them more careful not to lose it. But in all affairs of mutiny, he made use of an inflexible severity, knowing that he subdued his enemies to no purpose, if the troops, by whose assistance he conquered them, and kept them in submission, refused to obey him.

All this is good policy and might be of service to the leader of a faction. But to indulge soldiers in luxury, is contrary to all good rules, and unbecoming a commander invested with a lawful authority.

As soon as Cæsar had quelled the above-mentioned mutiny, he prepared to set out for Africa. Before I follow him thither, I shall give some account of the strength of the forces of Pompey's party, in that province.



B O O K XLVI.

CONTAINING Cæsar's war in Africa. Cato's death. Cæsar's triumphs. His plan of Government, and his application towards reforming divers abuses. Anno Romæ 706.

§. I.

Metellus Scipio comes into Africa, to meet Varus and Juba. His character. They are joined by Cato. Cato's march through the deserts of Libya. He makes Juba sensible of Scipio's authority, by himself submitting to serve under him. He saves Utica, which Juba would have demolished, and shuts himself up there. Strength of the vanquish'd party in Africa. Cæsar goes into Africa. His inconceivable Dispatch. His caution to obviate the vulgar superstitions. He had at first but few troops with him, and those very ill provided. Labienus attacks him. A great battle, wherein Cæsar is put to great difficulties. Magnanimity of one of Labienus's soldiers, who was lately come out of slavery. Cæsar's difficulties and dangerous situation. Juba begins his march to join Scipio. He is obliged to return, to the defence of his Kingdom, invaded by Sittius. Cæsar keeps close in his camp. He endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people of the Province. A great number of Getulians and Numidians desert and come over

to him. He receives a reinforcement of troops and provisions. Cato advises Scipio to protract the war, but seeing his counsel rejected, repents having given up the command. Scipio's cruelty to a Centurion and some veteran Soldiers of the enemy. A terrible storm which greatly incommodes Cæsar's army. Panic among Cæsar's troops, on the approach of Juba. Singular expedient made use of by Cæsar, to encourage them. Juba's pride and arrogance. Junction of all Cæsar's forces. He punishes five officers. A remarkable instance of Cæsar's activity. He puts P. Ligarius to death, for having continued in arms against him, notwithstanding the pardon granted him in Spain. Cæsar particularly applies himself to the disciplining of his troops. Battle of Thapsus. Memorable engagement of a Soldier with an elephant. Cæsar proceeds to attack Utica. Cato is willing to defend the town, but finds nobody disposed to second him. Whereupon having taken a resolution to dispatch himself, his whole attention is employ'd in securing the retreat of the Senators that had accompanied him. Cato's last supper. His death. Reflexions thereon. Cato truly valuable for the mildness, which accompanied his resolution. He may be considered as one of the most virtuous men Paganism ever produced. Inexcusable behaviour to his wife Marcia. His funeral. Commendations bestowed on him by the Uticans. Expression of Cæsar, on the news of his death. What may be thought of Cæsar's concern, in not having been able to save his life. Cæsar enters Utica. Pardons Cato's son, and imposes a heavy tax on the Romans, settled in that city. Juba's flight. Zama, the Metropolis of his Kingdom, shuts its gates against him. His death.

The Conqueror meets with no further opposition. Metellus Scipio falls on his own sword. Numidia reduced to a Roman Province. Sallust appointed Governor of it, where he rules with great tyranny. Cæsar's distribution of rewards and punishments. He puts to death Faustus Syl-la and Afranius. His clemency to the rest. He sets out for Rome, having put an end to the African war, in little more than five months.

P R E L I M I N A R I E S of the A F R I C A N
W A R.

*M. Scipio
comes into
Africa, to
meet Varus
and Juba.
His cha-
racter.
Dio. l.
XLIII.
App 2n.
Civil. l II.
Plut. Cat.*

AFTER the battle of Pharsalia, Metellus Scipio retired, as I have before took notice, into Africa, where he might depend on the double assistance of Juba and Varus. Juba, King of Mauritania, was the more firmly attach'd to Pompey's party, because he look'd upon himself as it's chief support; and the success of his arms against Curio, as it had augmented his courage, so it had encreas'd his attachment to a cause, he had so gloriously defended. Varus, whom Curio's defeat had confirm'd in the possession of the Province of Africa, had under his command some Roman legions, who had given proof of their fidelity to Pompey. So that Metellus Scipio found the country, where he intended to renew the war, sufficiently furnish'd with forces, but he had not a sufficient military knowledge to make the proper use of them: having scarce any more merit, than what he claim'd from an high extraction, an illustrious name, a personal courage, more adapted to a private Soldier than to a Commander, and an implacable hatred to Cæsar.

Cæsar. But he wanted military experience ; the whole course of his life not affording one instance to dignify him as a warrior. And as for the qualifications of a great man, he was still more deficient. He was neither observable for his concern for the public good, nor for his noble sentiments, nor for his mildness, nor moderation. On the contrary, he was remarkable, for the vice peculiar to narrow souls, I mean an obstinacy, which rendered him incapable of receiving good advice : which he might easily have had at least from Cato, who came and joined him, with upwards of ten thousand men. But we shall find he knew not the value of such an ally.

We left Cato in the city of Cyrene, towards which he had bent his course, as soon as he heard of Pompey's death. As he thought his accepting the command of the fleet, and of those on board it, indispensable ; he could not do better than make a junction of his and Scipio's forces. But as the season was too far advanced, and as there would be great hazard for the ships in passing the Syrtes, (which are some very dangerous flats, so called) he determined to undertake the journey by land, notwithstanding he foresaw it must be attended with incredible fatigue. For he had a dry, sandy country to cross, uninhabited and over-run with serpents of all kinds. Cato therefore made ample provision of water, which he loaded on asses. He provided himself also with variety of carriages for transporting the baggage, and for the convenience of such as should be incapable of marching, through sickness or fatigue. And lastly to remedy the fatal effects from the bites of the serpents, he took with him

him some of the Pſylli, a people of Africa, to whom antiquity has attributed the extraordinary virtue of rendering themselves invulnerable to serpents, and of curing such as have been bit by them. This power seems reducible to the art of extracting poison by suction.

These precautions were sufficient to animate, to a certain degree, those, who were to accompany Cato, in this fatiguing march : but the courage of their commanders was their chief support. He marched at their head, his ^a pike in his hand, setting an example to the rest, cheerfully to support the fatigue : and this his deportment was infinitely more prevalent than any exhortations, or orders. He never made use of any carriage, not even of a horse. He slept the least of any in his army, and was the last to quench his thirst, if by accident they met with any spring on their march. This march took him up thirty days, at the expiration of which he came to Leptis ^b, where he passed the remainder of the winter. The party assembling in Africa, and which Cæsar's long stay in Alexandria allowed time to grow formidable, stood in great need of the wisdom and authority of Cato. Scipio and Varus were

*He makes
Jaba sensible of Scipio's authority, by himself submitting to serve under him.*

^a See the Dissertation of M. l'Abbé Sauchai upon the Pſylli, tome VII. the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres.

^b Ipse manu suâ pila gerens, præcedit anhel
Militis ora pedes : monstrat tolerare labores,
Non jubet, & nullâ vehitur cervice supinus,
Carpentove sedens : somni parcissimus ipse est,
Ultimus haustor aquæ. *Luc. v. 537.*

^c There were two cities of this name, distinguished by the epithets of greater and lesser Leptis. I imagine this to be the lesser Leptis, which lies more westerly and is situated towards the north of the lesser Syrtis.

not on very good terms, by reason the latter, being fond of command, would not give it up to the other, on a frivolous pretence that he had been, for a considerable time, commander in the province : and King Juba's pride and barbarian pomp was insupportable to them both. Cato's presence, in some measure, put a stop to these disorders. He soon taught Juba to pay a proper deference to the reputation and pre-eminence of the Roman name : for when at their first interview, the Numidian Prince had taken the place of honour between Scipio and Cato, this haughty Roman remov'd his seat, in order to place Scipio in the middle between the King and him. This lesson however was not sufficient, either to humble Juba, or to inspire Scipio with sentiments equal to his rank : and we shall have an opportunity of relating some instances, in the sequel of this history, which prove that the Numidian had not forgot his pride, nor Scipio his base obsequious flattery.

As for the dispute betwixt Scipio and Varus, Cato entirely put an end to it, by himself submitting to the orders of the former. He had a tender made him, by the consent of Scipio and Varus, of the chief command, and which he had incontestably the better right to, from his personal qualifications. But the law determined it against him. Scipio had been Consul, whereas Cato had never been more than Prætor. So that he declined the offer ; protesting, that as he was engaged in the defence of the laws, he would not begin, by violating them. He even refused to divide the authority : saying, that it was more for the advantage of the cause to have but one Chief. This great austerity is
certainly

certainly very commendable : but Cato repented it, when he was convinced by experience that Scipio was not equal to his post.

After this submission of Cato, it would have appeared very ill in any other, not to acknowledge Scipio, as General. Not only Varus submitted to it, but Afranius who had been Consul : and consequently Petreius and Labienus, who, though of long experience in war, yet were not of sufficient rank to expect the command.

*He says
Utica,
which Ju-
ba would
have de-
stroyed,
and shuts
himself up
there.*

The first step of the Chiefs, after this union, was to secure the allegiance of the country they were then in : and as the inhabitants of Utica were, with reason, suspected to entertain a secret inclination for Cæsar's party, Juba, a Prince of a violent and cruel temper, was for destroying the city and exterminating its inhabitants. Utica, which was considerable, even when Carthage subsisted, became more so by the ruin of that capital of Africa. It was the residence of the Pro-consul, and full of Roman citizens, particularly of Knights, who had settled there, on account of its commerce. Cato therefore would not consent to the destruction of so important a place, or to the death of so many men, especially as most of them were Romans : and though Scipio was of Juba's opinion, Cato spoke so forcibly in the council, and inveigh'd with so much vehemence and indignation, against so unparallel'd a piece of cruelty, that he put a stop to the execution of this inhuman project.

However it was necessary to take some precautions to prevent Cæsar's being received in Utica. At the request of the inhabitants themselves, and agreeable to Scipio's desire, Cato undertook

undertook to defend the city; whose extent, riches, and numerous inhabitants, as well as its fortifications, rendered it very considerable, and which still became more so, in the hands of so active and vigilant a Governor. He formed great magazines of corn in the city, repaired its walls, erected turrets, and form'd a sort of camp without the city, enclos'd with a ditch and palisade, wherein, after having taken away their arms, he lodged all the youth of Utica. As for the rest of its inhabitants, he kept them within the walls, strictly watching their motions, though, at the same time, protecting them from any insults from his soldiers. So that Cato not only did an act of generosity and justice, in rescuing Utica: he even rendered it greatly advantageous to the very persons, who, through a headlong fury would have destroy'd it. From thence, he furnish'd Scipio with arms, money and provisions, and this place became the grand magazine for the supplies of the army.

It is easy to be conceived, that Pompey's party being so well established in Africa, that province became the place of rendezvous for such, who, after the battle of Pharsalia, still retained any hopes, or resolution, to retrieve their loss. The conquered soon were considerable enough, both by land and sea, to become formidable to their conquerors. Their forces consisted of a numerous cavalry, four legions belonging to King Juba, a great number of light-arm'd troops, ten legions collected or raised by Scipio, six-score elephants, and several fleets, dispersed along the coast. Scipio, for the raising so numerous an army, had drained the province, and pressed the very labourers into

*Strength of
the van-
quish'd par-
ty in Afri-
ca.*

*Hist. de B.
Afric. 1.
& 20.*

into the service, infomuch that the summer before Cæſar's arrival in Africa, there was no harveſt, for want of hands. Nevertheless, as the country is extremely fertile, the former harveſts ſufficed abundantly to ſtock Scipio's magazines. Being himſelf therefore in plenty, his next ſtep was to diſtreſs the enemy on his arrival: accordingly he laid the whole country waſte; and making choice of a few ſtrong places, where he lodged good garifons, he deſtroyed all the reſt and compelled their inhabitants to go into thoſe which he had fortified. His fleet alſo was of great uſe to him: from whence he detached ſquadrons, to cruize on the enemy, and to make deſcents in Sicily, and Sardinia; ſeiſing all the arms and all the iron they could lay their hands on, and with which the African army was but ill ſupplied. And

L. XI. ad now they began to be apprehenſive in Italy, as
Att. appears by ſeveral of Cicero's letters to Atticus, leſt ſo powerful an enemy ſhould make a deſcent there, whiſt Cæſar was employed in Egypt and Aſia. At the ſame time ſome commotions happened in Spain, of which young Pompey, by the advice of Cato, prepared to take advantage. So that the danger ſtill increaſing, Cæſar, after having remedied, in Rome and Italy, what required his more immediate attention, found he had not a moment to loſe, to go and appeaſe a ſtorm, no leſs violent, than that which he had quelled at Pharfalia.

*Cæſar goes
into Africa.
His incon-
ceivable
diſpatch.*

He went there, with an activity not to be conceived: and he carried it ſo far, that if I may be allowed to ſpeak my thoughts, ſuch diſpatch ought to ſerve as a precedent to none but thoſe who are equal to him in parts, and
would

would become rashness in any one, who has not an adequate fund in himself to rely on.

He left Rome about the end of the year in Hist. de B. which Calenus and Vatinius were Consuls. He Afric. 2. passed the streights at Rhegium, and from Messina, he marched directly to Lilybæum, where he arrived the ^d 17th of December. But it must be observed that the Roman Calendar was then in great confusion; so that the day they reckoned the 17th of December, was in reality the 30th of September. He was no sooner come to Lilybæum, than he shewed his inclination to embark, though he had but one legion with him, and that new rais'd, and scarce six hundred horse: and that every body might be convinced, that he would suffer no delay, he pitched a tent for himself without the city, and so near the sea, that it was almost wash'd by its waves.

For several days he was prevented weighing anchor, by the badness of the weather: and by this delay, some land forces and some ships of war and transports had an opportunity of joining him: so that in a short time, he had with him six legions, one of them of veterans, two thousand horse, and a great number of ships of both kinds. Notwithstanding the impossibility of sailing, yet he embarked his soldiers and rowers; the foot, on board the men of war, and the cavalry, on board the transports: and the very instant the bad weather ceased (on the 25th of December) he put to sea, without even appointing a place of rendezvous; because the enemy being in possession of the whole African

^d I translate in this manner Romans then followed, Decem-
ber had but 29 days.
XIV. Kal. Jan. because in
Numa's Calendar, which the

coast,

coast, he did not know exactly where he should land. His fleet happened to be separated, and every one steered what course he judged most convenient. He himself, with few attendants, the wind proving favourable, descry'd land the fourth day, and having coasted Clupea, Neapolis, and some other maritime places, he disembarked near Adrumetum, with three thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse. This handful of men was, at first, his whole defence, in a country possessed by an innumerable multitude of his enemies.

*His caution
to obviate
the vulgar
superstition.*
Suet. Cæs.
E. 54

It is reported that in getting out of his ship, he fell down. As he knew how much the vulgar were disposed to superstition, and that his soldiers might not think this fall of his, of ill omen, he had the presence of mind instantly to obviate such an effect, by extending his arms, as if he meant to embrace the earth, and crying out with a loud voice, “ Africa, I have
“ hold of thee.”

He had made use of a like precaution to prevent an impression, which the name of the commander of the contrary party made on several. Every body was acquainted with, and admired the glorious achievements of the two Scipios, in Africa. Consequently it was imagined, that, by a certain fatality, victory must necessarily follow their steps, in that country, and attend on their name : and that there was no possibility of a Scipio's being defeated, in a country, so fortunate to his family. Cæsar, who knew that it is often of dangerous consequence to run counter to popular prejudices, and that the best method of obviating them, is to seem to conform to them, brought with him a man of indifferent parts, and irregular
morals,

morals, who was of the family, and bore the name of Scipio.

The enemy had a garison in Adrumetum. Hirt. n. 3. Cæsar made an attempt to gain the Governor, but not being able to succeed, he resolved to remove further from the town. The garison made a fortée to harafs his retreat; but were repulsed, notwithstanding the inequality of forces: and, which is almost incredible, thirty Gaulish horsemen several times broke, and put to flight, two thousand of the Moorish cavalry. On the first of January, he encamped near Ruspina; and there he commenced his third Dictatorship and his third Consulship.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR III.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

A. R. 706.

An. J. C. 46.

The city of Ruspina, with its adjacent villages had submitted to Cæsar; as likewise did Leptis, a place of importance on the same coast, so that this enterprising General had already more than one port at his disposal. He was particularly civil to all who joined his party, that others might be tempted to follow their example.

The three principal points, which first employed his attention, were, to collect a sufficient quantity of corn and provisions, for the subsistence of his troops; to re-assemble his scatter'd fleet; and to be supplied, from Sardinia and Sicily, with all sorts of ammunition, and with fresh re-inforcements. Whatever he was able to do himself, he trusted to the execution of no one else: but headed his own foraging parties, and even put to sea in quest of

He had at first but very few troops with him, and those very ill provided.

K

his

A. R. - 55.
Ant. C. 46.

Hist. R. 10.

his ships. By degrees, all the forces, he had set out with from Sicily, joined him, and they made shift to live in his camp, though with some difficulty. But in the midst of all these difficulties, he preserved a serenity of countenance, and a confidence of success, which inspired his soldiers with the like sentiments. The sight of their General, in whom they absolutely confided, dispelled all apprehensions of danger, or fatigue.

However this army was far from being numerous, and almost entirely composed of new rais'd troops. So that Cæsar stood in need of an augmentation of forces, as well as of a supply of ammunition. For which purpose he sent orders into Sardinia, and into all the adjacent provinces, to dispatch ample convoys for his army, immediately on the receipt of his letters. He sent Rabinius Postumus into Sicily, for a reinforcement of troops, and dispatched Sallust into the isle of Cercina, to seize and bring away the magazines of corn, raised there by the enemy. And he expected his orders to be executed without any demur; nor would he admit of any excuse. It was to no purpose, to represent the danger, or difficulties: he would be obey'd.

Labiæus

attacks

him. A

great bat-

tle wherein

Cæsar is

put to great

difficulties.

Before he could possibly receive these supplies, he happened to be attacked by a detachment of the enemy, whose numbers were infinitely superior to his. For on the fourth of January, being with a foraging party, consisting of thirty cohorts, (making about fifteen thousand foot) four hundred horse, not yet recovered from the fatigue of the sea-passage, and some few archers, he received intelligence by his scouts, that the enemy was coming up-

on him. This happened to be Labienus at the head of a considerable body of cavalry and infantry. His cavalry consisted of sixteen hundred Gaulish and German horse, which he had brought with him from Theffaly, besides eight thousand Numidian horse, which were joined, during the engagement, by eleven hundred chosen horsemen more, brought up by Petreïus. The infantry, as well heavy, as light-arm'd, was four times as numerous, and sustained by slingers and archers, on foot and on horse-back. Labienus made no doubt of the victory: and had declared that his intention was to tire Cæsar's soldiers, by his numbers: so that, though at first they might have some advantage of the troops, he should attack them with, yet in the end having no longer the power of killing, thro' fatigue, they must necessarily be defeated.

In effect, Cæsar had need of all his skill and courage, to resist so great a superiority. He himself behaved with great gallantry: and seeing a soldier run away who carried the eagle of one of his legions, he laid hold of him, and turning him round, said: "You mistake: you must go that way to meet the enemy." However he could not prevent his people being surrounded, so that they were for some time obliged to fight in the hollow circle: but at last, by attacking them in a column, he found means to cut his way through, and break his assailants, notwithstanding their numbers. The light troops, of which Labienus's army was almost entirely composed, could not sustain the weight of the attack of the legionary soldiers, when once they came hand to hand. And Cæsar knew so well how to improve this advantage, that, after several alter-

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

native attacks and retreats, he repulsed the enemy beyond a hill, of which he took possession, and having there halted for some time, he march'd back unmolested, to his camp.

In this action, which lasted near seven hours, Petreius was wounded : and Labienus was in very great danger, through an adventure, which deserves to be related. He appeared between the two armies, on horse-back, without his helmet, encouraging his own people, and at times reproaching and insulting Cæsar's soldiers. " It ill becomes you, said he to them, " who are but new rais'd militia, to affect so " much haughtiness. Has Cæsar so soon be- " witch'd you ? he has betray'd you into so " great danger, that I really pity you." Where- upon one of the soldiers to whom he address'd himself, made him the following reply : " La- " bienus, I am no novice in the art of war. I " am a veteran soldier of the tenth legion." " You have a mind to impose upon me, re- " ply'd Labienus, I do not see any where the " colours of the legion you speak of." " Well " then, answered the soldier, I am going to " make myself known to you." At the same time lifting up his beaver, that his face might be seen, he flung his javelin with all his might at Labienus. It miss'd him, but wounded his horse.

In the account of this engagement, I have followed the ancient author of the memoirs of the African war. The Greek historians are not so favourable to Cæsar, and say plainly, that he had the worst of it. However it is evident from the facts, that, allowing he did sustain some loss, he was neither beaten nor broke, and that he saved the chief part of his troops :

Plut. App.
Dio.

troops : which was all he could propose under such circumstances.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

This was sufficient for Labienus to boast a victory : and a few days after, Scipio having joined him with eight legions and four thousand horse, this General, who was not less vain-glorious than his Lieutenant, thought it necessary to bestow extraordinary commendations on his pretended victorious troops, and to distribute military rewards among such as had signalised their bravery. Among others, Labienus presented him one of the cavalry, for whom he requested some golden bracelets. Scipio, who knew that this soldier was lately come out of slavery, refused to bestow them on him, thinking that the meanness of the object would depreciate the reward. However that he might not be discouraged, Labienus gave him some money, of which he had plenty ; having raised a great deal in Gaul, while he served there under Cæsar. But Scipio, still pursuing the same idea, said to the soldier, “ You receive there the present of a rich “ man.” This brave fellow, who had so very lately regained his liberty, that he almost still retained the marks of slavery, was very sensible of the difference betwixt the reward which had been denied him, and that which he had just received. Wherefore he returned Labienus his money, and remained motionless, his eyes fix’d on the ground, expressing his sorrow and dissatisfaction. Such a nobleness of soul made an amends for the meanness of his late condition : and such was Scipio’s opinion ; who thereupon said to him, “ Your General “ presents you with silver bracelets.” At these words, the soldier transported with joy ran, in triumph,

Magnanimity of one of Labienus’s soldiers who had lately come out of slavery.

Val. Max. VIII. 14.

A. R. 706. triumph, to receive the General's gratuity.
 AN. C. 46. Had all Scipio's soldiers had the like elevated notions, Cæsar had found more difficulty to conquer them.

Cæsar's difficulties and dangerous situation.
 H. H. II. 20. His situation was certainly very disagreeable; being pent up by an enemy, much superior to himself. But as he was in daily expectation of a reinforcement of his veteran troops, till their arrival, he made the best use he could of what troops he had on the spot; and as an augmentation to his army, he draughted out of the fleet all the men, that were not absolutely necessary in working the ships, and that could be any ways serviceable to him on land. His next care was immediately to intrench himself. He also drew lines of communication from the city of Ruspina, and from his camp to the sea, in order to secure his retreat, if necessary; and for the more easy receiving the supplies he expected.

But the want of victuals and forage was his greatest trouble. He was master but of six miles round, in all Africa: and that had been purposely plundered, as I have already mentioned. So that he had but very little corn, of which he was extremely sparing: and as for the horses, they were fed with sea-weed, steep'd in fresh water.

Juba begins his march to join Scipio
 These were very advantageous circumstances for Cæsar's enemies: and Juba, who had received an account of his situation, left his Kingdom, attended by a numerous body of horse and foot, in order, that when on his arrival the whole force of the party should be united, they might crush so weak and distressed an adversary. Cæsar's good fortune, or rather the effect of his intrigues, drew off that Prince, when

when he was upon the very point of joining Scipio. A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 45.

In the account of Catiline's conspiracy I mentioned one * Sittius, who, having been obliged for some certain ill-behaviour to leave Italy, had retired into Africa. This man, who wanted for neither courage nor conduct, had formed a little army of men levied in Italy, and Spain: and in the wars between the petty princes of Africa, he let himself out, to those who would pay him the best. And it being remarked, that the side he took always prov'd victorious, every one was desirous to have him for an ally: so that his affairs were in a very good posture, having troops very well disciplin'd at his disposal, and a considerable reputation in the country. Sittius's former attachment to Catiline, doubtless easily determined him to comply with Cæsar's solicitations, who had also been Catiline's friend. So that Juba had no sooner quitted his Kingdom, than Sittius, in conjunction with Bogud, King of part of Mauritania, entered it; took Cirta the capital of Numidia, and two cities belonging to the Getulians. And as he continued plundering the country, and alarming the cities, Juba began to be apprehensive that he might be stripped of his own territories, whilst he was supporting a foreign quarrel. Whereupon he returned, leaving Scipio only thirty elephants, which were not yet manageable for service.

It is easy to judge, how dangerous Juba's arrival would have been to Cæsar, since that, notwithstanding that Prince's retreat, he did not think himself of force sufficient to contend with Scipio. He kept close in his camp, which

He is obliged to return to the defence of his Kingdom, invaded by Sittius.
Dio. App.
* Vol. XI.

Cæsar keeps close in his camp.

A. R. 706.
ALL. C. 45.

he had strongly fortified, and in the front of which he had dispersed caltrops and chevaux de frise, to prevent the approach of the enemy's horse. It was to no purpose for Scipio to offer him battle; Cæsar constantly declin'd it: and this General, who had appeared so ardent on all other occasions, and with whom it had been customary to provoke, harass, and force his adversaries to an engagement, was as remarkable at this time for his cool temper, and for enduring quietly in his camp the insults and bravados of the officers and soldiers of the contrary party.

However this situation was extremely irksome to him; and in order to extricate himself, he sent fresh orders into Sicily, to bring him troops without any delay, and without any regard to the rigour of the season, or whether the wind was favourable or not. And so great was his impatience, that the very next day after his orders were dispatch'd, he complained of a delay in their execution, and was constantly looking towards the sea, in expectation of the arrival of the transports.

*H. inde
accursu in-
cratiato
himself
sent the
people of the
province.*

During this compelled leisure, Cæsar was not idle. Besides keeping his soldiers constantly employed in removing earth, and in the construction of works of all kinds, such as, towers, forts, and moles advanced into the sea; he sent circular letters into the whole province of Africa, to notify his arrival. For by reason of the few troops he had brought with him, and on account of his inaction, it was not believed in the country that he was come in person, but only that he had sent one of his Lieutenants. This precaution was of use to him. For as Scipio had extremely harass'd
and

and distress'd the province, great numbers of the principal inhabitants came from all parts to Cæsar's camp, to complain of their treatment. The affability with which he gave them audience, made a very favourable impression on the complainants, who were convinced he was not insensible of their misfortunes. And this mild usage induced Acilla, a city of importance, to open her gates to him, and admit a garison.

He had also proper agents in the enemy's camp, who enticed away several of their legionary soldiers, but particularly of the Getulians and Numidians, who deserted in crowds and came and offer'd their service to Cæsar. The name of Marius was in great reputation among these people; and as care had been taken to let them know that Cæsar was an ally of that celebrated man, these Barbarians had conceived an inclination for him, and desired nothing more than to serve him. So that he dispatch'd into Getulia some of these runagates, who were considerable in their own nation, to persuade their countrymen to revolt. The thing succeeded, and produced a diversion, which kept some part of Juba's forces in employ.

And now at length he received, what he had so long wished for, a supply of troops and provisions. Sallust, without any difficulty made himself master of the isle of Circina, where he found plenty of corn, which he sent to camp; and from Sicily, Allienus sent two legions, nine hundred Gaulish horse and a thousand slingers or archers, who after a passage of four days came safe into the port of Ruspina. This double reinforcement diffus'd a joy thro' the

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

A great number of Getulians and Numidians desert and come over to him.

He receives a reinforcement of troops and provisions.

A. R. 7:6.
AEL. C. 46.

the whole army ; and Cæsar now thought himself in a condition to come out of his camp and draw nearer the enemy. This motion produced an engagement between the cavalry of the two parties, wherein Scipio sustained a considerable loss. The Gaulish horse, in the service of Labienus, were surrounded and entirely cut to pieces : by which means Cæsar's adversaries were depriv'd of the flower of their cavalry.

Cato advised Scipio to protract the war, but finding his counsel rejected, repents having given up the command.
Plut. Cat.

Scipio might now have been convinced of the reasonableness of Cato's counsel, who, as often as he sent him supplies from Utica, as constantly advised him not to engage in a general action with a warrior of Cæsar's abilities, but to protract the war. But ignorance is presumptuous and will not abide instruction. Scipio rejected Cato's advice with disdain : and in a letter he wrote to him, he tax'd him with cowardice, and told him, that he ought to be satisfied with being safe in a good city and behind strong walls, and that it was going too far, to endeavour to dissuade others, from following the dictates of their courage. Cato was nettled at this reproach, and as an instance that fear had no part in the advice he gave, he answered Scipio, that if he would return him the troops he had brought into Africa, he was ready to go at the head of them into Italy, and make a diversion there which would be very advantageous to the common cause, and must oblige Cæsar to quit his present acquisitions and return thither. Scipio made a jest of this proposal ; and it was then that Cato repented having relinquished the command to a man, who not only was not of a disposition, to promise any success in the war ; but
who,

who, even supposing, contrary to all probability, he should meet with a favourable turn of fortune he by no means merited, would be incapable of any moderation in victory, and would treat the vanquish'd with cruelty and contempt. From that instant he determin'd, what he had before thought on, never to see Rome more ; not even tho' the event of the war should be conformable to his wishes ; but resolv'd to go and confine himself, to some distant corner of the earth, where he should not be witness of the tyranny, with which the conquered would be treated.

A. R. 726.
Ant. C. 46.

His mistrust of the use Scipio would make of victory was not ill founded, if we may judge by some instances in this General's conduct, at a time when the uncertainty of success ought to have made him more moderate. I shall only mention one.

Two vessels belonging to the fleet, which brought the last reinforcement to Cæsar, being separated from their convoy in a storm, were taken by Scipio's Lieutenants who guarded the coasts, and all the soldiers on board were made prisoners. These soldiers were partly veterans, partly new raised ; among the rest there happen'd to be a Centurion. Scipio had them be-

*Scipio's
cruelty to a
Centurion
and some
veteran sol-
diers of the
enemy.
Hirt. n.
44.*

fore him, and spoke to them in these terms :
 “ I know that 'tis not by your own inclination,
 “ but at the instigation of your wicked Gene-
 “ ral, that you impiously wage war on your
 “ fellow-citizens, and on the honestest part of the
 “ Republic. If therefore, now that fortune
 “ has put you in our power, you will take this
 “ opportunity to unite with the good citizens,
 “ in the defence of the commonweal ; I not only
 “ promise you your life, but you may expect
 “ to

A. R. 705. “ to be rewarded. Let me know what you
 ANL C. 45. “ think of the propofal.”

The Centurion, who on this occafion was fpokefman, made him a very different anfwer from what he expected. “ Scipio, fays he, “ (for I cannot give you the appellation of General) I return you my hearty thanks for the “ good treatment you are willing to fhew to “ prifoners of war ; and perhaps I might accept of your kindnefs, were it not to be “ purchafed at the expence of an horrible “ crime. What ! Shall I carry arms and fight “ againft Cæfar my General, under whom I “ have ferv’d as Centurion ; and againft his “ victorious army, to whose renown I have “ fo many years endeavour’d to contribute by “ my valour ? ’Tis what I will never do : and evenadvife you not to push the war any further. “ You know not what troops you have to deal “ with, nor the difference ’twixt them and “ yours ; of which, if you please, I will give “ you an indifputable instance. Do you pick “ out the beft cohort you have in your army ; “ and give me only ten of my comrades, who “ are now your prifoners, to engage them. “ You fhall fee, by the fuccefs, what you are “ to expect from your foldiers.”

Scipio thought himfelf insulted ; and with fome reafon. However the Centurion’s courage and fidelity to his General merited efteem, even from an enemy. But it had no fuch effect on Scipio ; who, refenting the affront, made a fign to fome of his officers to kill the Centurion on the fpot, which was instantly put in execution. He gave the like orders for the death of the other veteran foldiers, whom he fill’d villains pamper’d with the blood of their fellow-

fellow-citizens. As for the new raised soldiers, A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46. they were distributed among his legions.

Cæsar was very much concern'd for the misfortune of these brave fellows ; and he broke, with ignominy, the persons, to whom he might reasonably impute the cause of their loss ; that is, those officers, whose instructions being to secure the coasts, and to advance to a certain distance into the main sea, to protect and facilitate the approach of the transports, had been negligent on that important station.

About this time, Cæsar's army was surpris'd, in the night, by a terrible storm, attended with hail of an uncommon size. But what contributed most to this misfortune was, that the soldiers had not any conveniencies, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. By reason, Cæsar (as may easily be seen by what has been hitherto related of him) did not put his troops into winter-quarters ; but was continually changing his camp, to gain ground on the enemy and to keep his army employed. Besides neither officer nor soldier had been permitted to take their equipages, or utensils with them, not so much as a vessel, or a single slave. So that very few of them had tents ; and the generality had made themselves a kind of covering, either by spreading their cloaths, or with mats and rushes. Such a covering could be but a slight protection against a violent storm ; and as it was presently penetrated, the soldiers had no other resource than to cover their heads with their bucklers, to shelter them from the weather. In a short time the whole camp was under water, the fires extinguished, and all their provisions wash'd away or spoilt. But this was only a transient accident.

*A. R. 706.
Ann. C. 46.
Panic a-
mong Cæ-
sar's troops.
on Juba's
approach.
singular
expedient.
made use of
by Cæsar,
to encour-
age them.*

accident. Juba's approach gave far greater alarms to Cæsar's troops. This Prince, having receiv'd advice of the horse-engagement wherein Scipio had been worsted ; and that General, in his letters, earnestly soliciting his assistance ; he determined once more to come to the defence of his allies ; whereupon he immediately began his march, leaving Saburn at home to carry on the war with Sittius. There were most surprising accounts published of the King of Mauritania's forces. Cæsar thought of a very singular expedient to remove his soldiers fears ; which was to exceed even common report, in the account of his numbers.

*Secret. Cæf.
n. 65.*

Accordingly he assembled his soldiers, and said to them : “ I must inform you, that Juba is hourly expected, with ten legions, thirty thousand horse, one hundred thousand light-arm'd troops, and three hundred elephants. So that I would have those who are fond of news, make no further unnecessary inquiries, nor build castles in the air, but rely on what I tell them, from undoubted authority : otherwise I will put them on board some of my oldest ships, and deliver them up to the mercy of the winds.” This exaggeration produced a very extraordinary effect. For when Juba came and had encamped his troops near Scipio, they appear'd not near so numerous as had been imagined. And in reality, excepting the Numidian cavalry and light-arm'd infantry, which were considerable, his whole force consisted in only three legions, eight hundred horse, and thirty elephants. So that Cæsar's soldiers, having got over the terrible idea they had form'd to themselves of this army, their apprehensions were soon turn'd into contempt, and

and they as much despised the King of Mauritania, now he was present, as they had feared him, when at a distance. If Juba, on his arrival, suffer'd in the esteem of Cæsar's troops, yet he still kept the ascendant over Scipio. He began by taking amiss, that the Roman General wore a purple coat of mail, and had the insolence to tell him, that he ought not to wear the same kind of cloathing, as he did. Scipio was weak enough to comply with this remonstrance. He changed it for a white one, resigning to this Barbarian Prince the distinguishing mark of Commander in chief. Juba was actually more feared, and better obeyed, in Scipio's army, than Scipio himself. A Senator of that party, nam'd Aquinius, being in conversation, in the sight of the two armies, with Salserna, one of Cæsar's officers, Scipio, who had suffered considerably by desertion, not knowing where this conversation might end, sent him word, that he did not do well to correspond with the enemy. Aquinius paid no attention to this reprimand, but pursued his discourse. Till one of Juba's guards came to him and told him, "the King forbids you to continue this conversation." He no sooner receiv'd this order, than he retir'd. In this manner did the Romans degrade themselves, and, thro' party-rage, debase the common honour of the whole nation.

Scipio and Juba had united all their forces, before Cæsar had entirely assembled his. However it was not long before he receiv'd from Sicily, by different voyages, the forces he expected, and among others the tenth legion, who, as we have already taken notice, came unorder'd, to tender their services to their General;

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

Juba's
pride and
arrogance.
Hirt. n.
57.

Junctio
of all Cæ-
sar's for-
ces.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

neral ; which he had affected to decline. The two contending armies being now compleat, prepared for action, and frequent skirmishes happen'd between them. But before I relate the military operations, I must take notice of an example of severity, made by Cæsar in his camp, for past faults, which he had not an opportunity of punishing, as soon as committed.

*He punishes
five officers.*

During his stay in Alexandria, and whilst he was engaged in the war against Pharnaces, there happened several commotions in his legions quarter'd in Italy and Sicily, which at last produced that violent sedition, which I have already related. Cæsar, who perceiv'd his troops knew how necessary they were, thought it impolitic, at that time, to push his severity too far. But he knew well enough who were the promoters of these disorders, and at the time I am now speaking of, took the opportunity, which one of them gave him, to disgrace them.

Hirt. n.
54.

C. Avienus, a military Tribun of the tenth legion, when he set out from Sicily, had filled a ship entirely with his own equipage and attendants, without taking on board one single soldier. Nothing could be more contrary to Cæsar's intentions, or to the example which he himself set. One may guess at his real equipage in Africa, by that which he formerly brought with him into Great Britain, and which consisted, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, of no more than three slaves. Cæsar therefore, the day after the arrival of the convoy we are now speaking of, assembled the Tribuns and Centurions of all the legions, and having ascended his Tribunal, address'd them in these terms : “ I could have wished that
“ those, whose insolence and former licentious
“ chara-

Athon.
VI. 20.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

“ character have given me cause of complaint,
 “ had been capable of amendment, and of ma-
 “ king a good use of my mildness, patience,
 “ and moderation. But since they know not
 “ how to confine themselves within bounds, I
 “ intend to make an example of them, accord-
 “ ing to the law of arms, in order that others
 “ may be taught a better conduct. You, C.
 “ Avienus, when you was in Italy, instigated
 “ the soldiers of the Roman people to revolt
 “ against the Republic ; You have been guil-
 “ ty of rapines and plunders in the municipal
 “ towns ; and you have never been of any real
 “ service, either to the common-wealth, or to
 “ your General : lastly, in lieu of soldiers,
 “ you have crowded the transports with your
 “ slaves and equipage ; so that, thro’ your
 “ fault, the Republic fails in soldiers, who at
 “ at this time are not only useful, but necessary.
 “ For all these causes, I break you with ignomi-
 “ ny, and order you to leave Africa this very
 “ day. In like manner I break you, A. Fonteius,
 “ because you have behav’d yourself as a sedi-
 “ tious officer, and as a bad citizen. You,
 “ T. Salienus, M. Tiro, C. Clusinas, you have
 “ attained the rank of Centurions, thro’ my
 “ indulgence, and not thro’ your own merit ;
 “ and since you have been invested with that
 “ rank, you have neither shewn bravery in
 “ war, nor good conduct in peace. Instead
 “ of endeavouring to act according to the rules
 “ of modesty and decency, your whole study
 “ has been to stir up the soldiers against your
 “ General. I therefore think you unworthy of
 “ continuing Centurions in my army : I break
 “ you, and order you to quit Africa as soon
 “ as possible.” Having concluded this terrible

L

harangue,

A. R. 706.
A. D. C. 46.

harangue, he deliver'd them over to some Centurions, with orders to confine them separately on board a ship, allowing each of them a single slave to wait on them. This was certainly carrying things with a high hand, in a man, who, properly speaking, was no more than the chief of a faction. Besides civil wars are almost always the destruction of discipline: but Cæsar found in himself and in the superiority of his talents, the right of making himself obey'd.

I have mention'd that there happen'd frequent skirmishes between Cæsar and his adversaries, before they came to a general action. The particulars of all these operations, of less importance, are to be seen in the memoirs of the African war. I shall only extract such as appear to be of most consequence, and especially such as are most proper to give us a livelier idea of, and encrease our admiration for Cæsar's genius, and great abilities. For example, I give you the following instance of his activity, and dispatch.

*Remark-
able in-
stance of
Cæsar's
activity.
Hist. n.
62.*

On information that a convoy of two legions had set out from Sicily, he detach'd two squadrons, to facilitate and protect its arrival; one towards Thapsus, the other towards Adrumetum. This latter happened to be separated by a storm. The Commodore, by name Aquila, got under convenient shelter: and a great many ships of his squadron anchored before Leptis, whilst their crews went on shore to refresh themselves, not knowing that the enemy was so near them. For Varus, having notice of the convoy's sailing, had come from Utica to Adrumetum, with a fleet of fifty five ships; and being there told what was doing
at

at Leptis, he took advantage of the negligence of Cæsar's people, and attack'd their ships, which were left almost defenceless. Many of them he burnt, took two gallies of five banks of oars, and then proceeded to attack Aquila.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

Cæsar had an account brought him of this unlucky accident, as he was inspecting the works of his camp. Whereupon he immediately took horse, went full speed to Leptis, which was but two leagues distant, and going on board a Brigantine, ordered all the ships in the port to follow him, and in this manner put to sea. He came time enough to extricate Aquila, from the danger he was in, who found great difficulty to defend himself against so numerous a fleet. Varus, hitherto victorious, began now to fear in his turn, and sought his safety in his flight. Cæsar pursued him, and not content with having recover'd one of his own gallies, and taken another from the enemy, he follow'd him into the very bason of Adrumetum, whither they had retreated. He there offered them battle, which they declin'd; and having thus compelled them, to own themselves in a manner defeated, as they durst not come out of the harbour, he return'd to his camp.

On board the ship he had taken, there happened to be P. Ligarius, the same, who had prosecuted the war against him in Spain, and who, instead of acknowledging the conqueror's generosity, in granting him his liberty, had join'd Pompey in Greece; and after the battle of Pharsalia, had gone into Africa to Varus, there to continue in the service of the same cause. Cæsar gave immediate orders for

He puts P. Ligarius to death for having continued in arms against him, notwithstanding the pardon granted him in his Spain.

A. R. 706.
Aet. C. 46. his execution: and this is the first flagrant instance of the like rigour, put in force by Cæsar, and inflicted on a man of quality of the contrary party. He certainly was greatly exasperated against those who had rekindled the war in Africa, and as he thought them incorrigible, he was of opinion, 'twas to no purpose to pardon them.

Cæsar
particular-
ly applies
himself to
the disci-
pling of
his troops. When Cæsar came back to camp, he wholly applied himself to the disciplining of his troops, in order to enable them to withstand Juba's cavalry, light arm'd troops, and elephants. For when once they came to a close engagement, his infantry had a surprising superiority; insomuch that three or four of his veterans have, more than once, put two thousand of the enemy's horse to flight. But this Numidian cavalry, and the light arm'd troops that accompanied it, after they were broke, easily rallied, and continually return'd to the charge. And Cæsar's legionary horse were so far inferior to them, that in an action wherein he was a good deal pressed, he did not so much as suffer them to engage, but entirely made use of his infantry against the enemies light troops; who, as often as they repulsed them, kept retiring, till they were afresh attack'd, and in this manner he at last got back to camp, but with so much difficulty, and so slowly, that he was four hours going one hundred paces.

His troops, altho' excellent, were not at all adapted to this manner of fighting. In Gaul they had been accustom'd to fight in an open country, and with an undefigning enemy, who seldom made use of stratagems, and were more desirous to conquer by force, than by fraud. Here it was quite otherwise: they found them-

selves

selves in an inclosed country, and attack'd by a cunning artful enemy, who frequently were upon them, when they least expected; and had no sooner alarm'd them, than they were gone off again.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

So that Cæsar considered his soldiers, not as veterans, who had only need to be led to battle; but as novices, who were to be form'd: and he himself instructed them, in the same manner as a fencing-master instructs his scholars, shewing them how to retire, how to advance, when to feint, and when to strike home. After having exercised them some time in his camp, he had a mind to put them to a trial: and in order to get provisions, he continually detach'd his legions, some one way, some another, knowing that as the enemy's cavalry and light arm'd troops were constantly on the patrolle, they must necessarily fall in with his people, and give them an opportunity of putting in practice the instructions he had given them.

'Twill not be improper to mention another precaution of his, which was, whenever his whole army was on the march, as it was then necessary the soldiers should carry their baggage as well as arms, he took care to detach three hundred chosen men from each legion, who were disencumber'd from all camp-equipage, and form'd a kind of guard to the army. And he found the use of them on several occasions, wherein they repulsed the enemy.

He was also desirous to familiarise his soldiers to elephants, whose enormous size together with their numbers not a little scar'd his troops. For which purpose he sent for some, from Italy, that his soldiers might be accustom'd to the sight of them, and might have an opportunity of handling, and examining them. He shew'd them

A. R. 706.
A. C. 46.

where they were most vulnerable, and what part of the body of an arm'd elephant was defenceless and lay most exposed. To these instructions he subjoin'd practice, and accustom'd his cavalry to lance at the elephants, darts, whose points were blunted. Nay his care extended to the very horses, which he order'd to be frequently led near the elephants, that they might be used to the sight, smell, and cry of them. What General ever carried his attentions so far? nothing escap'd him, that could be of use, and he thought nothing, that could be useful, beneath his notice.

*Battle of
Thapsus.*

As soon as Cæsar thought his troops sufficiently disciplin'd, he endeavour'd to come to a decisive battle. At first Scipio would not have declin'd it: but it seems, the several skirmishes, in which, maugre the superior number of his cavalry and light troops, he had often been worsted, had render'd him more circumspect. For now he constantly kept in a situation, where, by reason of its natural strength, and by the help of the works he rais'd, it was impossible for him to be attack'd. In order to draw him from this post, Cæsar determin'd to besiege Thapsus; imagining they would never suffer a place of that importance, to be taken from them, but would use their utmost endeavours to raise the siege. As he lay but sixteen miles distant from Thapsus, on the 4th of April he struck his tents, and the same day came before the town, and began to make the necessary dispositions for besieging it. It happen'd as he suspected; Scipio and Juba follow'd him, and came and encamp'd, in separate camps, about eight miles from the city.

Thapsus is a maritime town, cover'd, in part,

part, on the land-side by a salt marsh, between which marsh and the sea, was a space of about half a mile. 'Twas on this side that Scipio purposed to fling succours into the town ; but Cæsar suspecting his design, had there raised a fort, and lodg'd a good body of troops : So that Scipio finding there was nothing to be done there, was obliged to extend himself further along the coast, with intention to encamp. He had no sooner begun laying out his camp, and raising his works, but Cæsar, who thought it now the proper time to begin the action, march'd up with his whole army in order of battle, except two legions which he left behind to guard his camp. He had also sent orders for some of his ships stationed on that coast, at an appointed signal, to fall down, and attack the enemy in the rear.

Scipio did not make a bad disposition. He covered his pioneers, by his army, which he drew up at the head of the entrenchment, and he plac'd his elephants on the two wings. However the enemy's approach occasion'd some confusion : and Cæsar perceiv'd it as he rode along the ranks, exhorting the old soldiers, to keep up to their usual bravery ; and the young ones, to aspire at the glory of the veterans. In passing backwards and forwards, he saw a good deal of motion and agitation among the enemy : many return'd to their camp, which was yet unfinish'd ; and others came out in crowds, and with an air of diffidence and fear.

This was the time to begin the attack : and it seems beyond all doubt, by the measures Cæsar had hitherto taken, that his intention was to make use of the opportunity, he had been waiting for. Yet the author of the memoirs on

A. R. 705.
Ann. C. 45.

the African war assures us, that he was still dubious, and undetermin'd, whether he should begin the engagement. But so great was the ardour of his troops, that the soldiers prevail'd on a trumpet, to sound the charge, without waiting for orders: and notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, they mov'd up to the enemy: so that Cæsar was under the necessity of giving way to a torrent, whose course it was out of his power to stop, and at last gave the signal, and made choice of the word *felicitas* for the parole of the day.

Supposing this to be fact, Cæsar's design, by this delay, must have been to augment the ardour of his troops. However 'twas a dangerous breach of discipline, to put soldiers upon fighting, without waiting for the General's orders. These circumstances and some other instances of the soldiers licentiousness, which I shall observe in their proper place, seem to confirm what is related by Plutarch; that as Cæsar was giving his orders for the battle, he was taken with an epileptic fit, to which he was subject, and perceiving its approach by previous convulsions, he ordered himself to be carried into an adjacent turret, where he remained during the whole engagement. The writer of the African war, being a passionate admirer of Cæsar, may possibly have suppress'd this disagreeable and mortifying accident, which rob'd his hero of the glory of so great a day. This omission must necessarily occasion a variation in the relation of the facts.

Pict. Cæs.
Suet. Cæs.
c. 45.
Plut.

Hirt. n.
83.

Be it how it will, there was no resisting the courage and impetuosity of Cæsar's army. The elephants were first put in confusion, by the multiplicity of arrows and stones they were saluted

luted with; and becoming wild thro' the anguish of their wounds, fled and broke the ranks which had been plac'd to sustain them. The Moorish cavalry, being depriv'd of the assistance of the elephants, made no resistance, and Cæsar's legions, pursuing their advantage, entered the camp with the flying enemy, and got possession of it. The valiant part of the enemy died in defence of their entrenchments, the rest return'd to the camp they had quitted the day before.

A. R. 706.
Ann. C. 46.

The ancient author, whom I chiefly follow throughout this narration, relates here a remarkable instance of the courage of a veteran soldier. A wounded elephant, become furious thro' pain, attack'd an unhappy attendant on the army; he had him under one of his feet, and kneeling with the whole weight of his body on this poor wretch's stomach, he there kept him in most exquisite torture, till he had put an end to his life by repeated blows of his trunk. This horrid scene the soldier, I am speaking of, cou'd not behold unmov'd, but immediately attack'd the elephant; who quitted the dead body, and seiz'd the soldier, by wrapping his trunk round him; and in this manner lifted him up in the air, all arm'd as he was. In this dangerous extremity, the soldier summoned all his resolution, and began cutting the elephant cross the trunk with his sword. The pain oblig'd the animal to quit his hold: he drop'd him on the ground, and ran roaring to the other elephants. From that time the fifth legion, to which this soldier belong'd, bore an elephant in its colours.

*Memorable
engage-
ment of a
soldier
with an e-
lephant.*

Scipio's army was defeated, but not destroy'd: and if that General had had any judgment and

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presence of mind, he might have sav'd a considerable part of it. For great numbers, who had retir'd to the camp they occupied the day preceding the battle, prepar'd to defend it with courage, and only wanted a proper person to head them. But no such one was to be found; by reason Scipio, and all the other General officers, Petreïus, Afranius, Labienus, had abandoned them. So that these unfortunate troops, perceiving themselves pursued and attack'd by the conquerors quitted again this second camp, and went to seek protection in Juba's. There they found the enemy, who had just made themselves masters of it: So that having now no further hopes of relief, they laid down their arms and demanded quarter. But in vain: Cæsar's soldiers, especially the veterans, being bent on slaughter, and thinking any thing allowable, after so important a victory, put them every man to the sword. The ancient author says, that they committed this barbarity in the very sight of Cæsar, who was not able, either by threats or entreaties, to put a stop to their fury. He adds, that they carried their insolence and audaciousness so far, as to wound, and even kill some persons of distinction of their own army, whom they suspected to wish well to the contrary party. He mentions two by name; one of whom was actually killed, the other receiv'd a wound in his arm, and had shar'd the same fate, if he had not shelter'd himself behind the General. So many disorders do not easily agree with the command and authority, Cæsar usually had over his troops; but rather seem to confirm his absence during the engagement.

However if he had been there in person, the
 2 victory

victory could not have been more compleat. A. R. 706.
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Ten thousand of the enemy were slain on the spot: the rest were dispersed by flight; and their three camps carried sword in hand. On the conquering side, there were but fifty soldiers kill'd, and a small number wounded.

Cæsar, according to his constant practice, Cæsar proceeds to attack Utica, allowed the enemy no time to recover themselves. He did all he could to induce the Governor of Thapsus to give up the town, but not being able to succeed, he left Caninius Rebilus, with three legions, before the place. He at the same time caused Tyfdrus, another important city of those parts, to be invested by Cn. Domitius, who was to besiege it with two legions. And himself, after having recompensed such of his officers and soldiers, as had signalised themselves, in any extraordinary manner, during the engagement, he set forwards to reduce Utica, being preceded by a body of cavalry commanded by Messala.

Utica had been no easy conquest, if Cato Cato is willing to defend the town, but finds nobody disposed to second him.
Plut. Cat. could have found therein people of spirit and courage, to second him. I have already described the strength of that place, and of its new works, as well as the prodigious magazines of arms and provisions, which Cato had collected, and which might have enabled the town to hold out a long time. But the citizens hearts were for Cæsar; the Romans settled in the town were under violent apprehensions, and the garison was very weak, because Cato's chief bent had been to make Scipio's army considerable. However as he had been accustomed to contend with difficulties, he determined to try whatever was practicable, in the present situation of affairs.

His

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His first business was to appease the extraordinary trouble, and consternation, the news of the defeat at Thapsus had occasioned in the city. This account was brought in the night time, which added to the confusion. As Utica was but three days journey distant from the place where the battle was fought, they expected, every instant, to see the conqueror at their gates; so that the inhabitants were disposed to abandon the town. Cato, in order to quell the tumult, and to dispel their alarms, went in person from street to street, and insinuated, that perhaps the evil was not so great as was reported. The authority of his presence revived their hopes, and for a while appeased their apprehensions.

Cato took the advantage of this calm to assemble the council of the three hundred, that is, all the rich Roman merchants or bankers settled in Utica, of whom he had composed a kind of senate, from his first coming to that place. To these he also added such senators, and senators sons, as were with him. Whilst the council was assembling, he came in with his usual serenity, and read to those that were already come, an account of the provisions contained in the magazines of the city.

As soon as the members had taken their seats, he began by commending the zeal and fidelity of the three hundred, of which they had given the strongest proofs, in aiding the common cause with their persons, their money, and their advice. He exhorted them, not to let any private interest divide them, by pursuing different measures, according to the opportunities, and hopes, each one might have, for the safety of his person: because if they acted with
unanimity,

unanimity, in case they determined to hold out, they would appear less contemptible to Cæsar; and should they be disposed to have recourse to his clemency, he would still have more consideration for them. However he declared he left them at liberty to make their election, nor should he in any wise blame them, whatever might be their determination. “If, says he, “you take the fortunate side, I shall attribute “your change to necessity. If on the contrary you bear up against your misfortunes, “and are willing to sustain the burthen, and “hazard the dangers of defending, your liberty; in that case I not only applaud you, “but admire your virtue, and I offer myself “to be your guide and companion in so noble “an enterprize; even till no further resource “remains for our suffering country; to the “very last extremity. It is not Utica, Gentlemen, nor Adruimetum that is our country; “but Rome. Rome, who through a noble “opposition to slavery, has often recovered “from greater calamities, than those which “now threaten her. There are many motives “to encourage us, and we have great reason “to hope for success, especially if we reflect “that our enemy is embroiled on all sides. “Spain has declared for young Pompey, and “Rome itself, though subject to the tyrant, “bears its yoke with indignation, and will “take the first opportunity to shake it off. “With respect to the hazards we must run, “why should they terrify us? Let us take example by our enemy, who braves all dangers, to commit the most horrid violences: “whereas the risk we run, is to enjoy a very “happy life, if we prove victorious; or if “we

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

A. R. 706. “ we fail, to share the most honourable of all
 Ant. C. 46. “ deaths. However I would have you reflect,
 “ before you determine : and I wish, on ac-
 “ count of the virtue and courage you have
 “ hitherto shewn, that your determination may
 “ be to your advantage.”

This speech at first had a surprising effect. Some few were struck with the reasons Cato alledged : but the majority principally admired his generosity, intrepidity, and composure of mind. They even almost forgot their distressful situation : and giving vent to a kind of enthusiasm, they bestowed large encomiums on Cato, as alone invincible and superior to fortune. The conclusion was that they tendered him their persons, their purses, and their arms, to be disposed of as he thought proper ; being convinced, as they said, that it was more honourable to sacrifice their lives in obedience to his orders, than to save themselves by betraying so eminent virtue.

But all this generous ardour, was, if I may use the expression, but a flash, which the first reflection extinguished, and which ceased to blaze, as soon as it was necessary that their actions should confirm their words. It was proposed to set the slaves at liberty, to be employed as soldiers in the defence of the city. Cato, who always conformed to justice with the greatest strictness, said he would not wrong the masters so much, as to take their slaves from them, but that he would willingly accept of as many, as the owners would voluntarily give him. The Senators that were with him readily came into this proposal : but the three hundred, who were persons of trade and commerce, and whose riches consisted in the num-
 ber

ber of their slaves, were instantly damp'd at the apprehensions of so considerable a loss: and their fear of Cæsar at the same time reviving, they quickly lost all their zealous sentiments of honour, together with their respect for Cato. “ Who are we? said they one to the other, and to whom do we refuse to submit? does not Cæsar, in his single person, unite all the forces of the empire? and are we Scipios, Pompeys, or Catos to oppose him? what! at a time all the earth submits to his yoke, when the most determined courage is not without apprehensions, shall we undertake the defence of the Roman liberty? shall we dispute the possession of Utica with him, to whom Cato and Pompey the Great have abandoned Italy? and shall we set our slaves at liberty to fight against Cæsar, when we ourselves have no more liberty, than what he is pleased to allow us? If we have not entirely lost our senses, let us be more just to ourselves: let us not forget the character we bear in life, and let the means of obtaining the Conqueror’s clemency, be our only consideration.”

Such were the thoughts of some of the most moderate among the three hundred. But many others did not confine themselves to feeble remonstrances, but were villainous enough, to form a design of seizing the Senators, to deliver them up to Cæsar, and by this piece of treachery hoped to purchase their peace. Cato suspected their change: but did not for that alter his behaviour to them, not thinking it proper to put them under the necessity of declaring themselves. But he was convinced it was next to impossible to think of saving Utica;

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ca: and such he declared his opinion in the letters he wrote to Scipio and Juba, who lay concealed not far from that city; the one at sea, behind a promontory, the other in the adjacent woods, and mountains, and had both applied to him for his protection, or to accompany him if he intended to retire.

The arrival of Scipio's cavalry, which had retreated from the field of battle towards Utica, gave Cato fresh hopes; at least for some time. They were numerous, and could they have been persuaded to enter the town, sufficient to influence the citizens, and over-awe the three hundred. But they were greatly divided as to what manner they should act. Many of them had thoughts of tending their service to Juba: whilst others were for acknowledging Cato for their Chief. And a third party, fluctuating between both, had only determined not to enter Utica, on account of the known affection the inhabitants had for Cæsar. In the midst of this diversity of opinions, they agreed in one point, which was to send a deputation to Cato, notifying their arrival.

Cato came out to them, attended by all the Senators, except M. Rubrius, whom he left to watch the motions of the three hundred, during his absence. He addressed the commanders of this body of cavalry, and intreated them not to give themselves to a foreign Prince, to a Moorish King; but to prefer Cato to Juba. He represented to them, how dishonourable it would be to abandon all those illustrious Senators which were then present; and insinuated, that by affording a protection to the Senators, they would no less effect their own safety by entering a city, whose fortifications

tions rendered it impregnable, and wherein were magazines of all sorts for several years. After this short harangue, to which the Senators subjoined their tears and intreaties, the Officers went to consult their troops: and Cato set himself down on an eminence, waiting their answer.

Here Rubrius came to him, complaining of the audaciousness of the three hundred, who had revolted and raised a commotion in the city: a fresh cause of terror and consternation to the Senators, and a further trial of Cato's constancy. He used his endeavours to hearten the Senators, and sent back Rubrius to Utica, with orders to the three hundred, to be quiet and wait his return. The cavalry's answer, which he received soon after, served to augment his difficulties. They declared that they had no inclination for Juba, nor any apprehensions of Cæsar, when once they were under Cato's command; but that they could not trust the inhabitants of Utica, originally Phœnicians, and as perfidious as had formerly been their brother Carthaginians. "If this fickle, deceitful people, said they, remain at present quiet, it is only till Cæsar's arrival. Let him be but once at their gates, and they will join him against us. If therefore you are willing to make use of our assistance, you must previously kill or expel all the Uticans. Then we will undertake the defence of the city, when cleared of its Barbarian enemies." Cato thought the proposal made to him by the cavalry, as unreasonable as cruel: however he mildly answered them, that he must first return into the city, to take the opinion of the three hundred.

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The complaints brought to him of the merchants and traders were but too well founded. He found them very resolute; no longer seeking pretences to palliate their disaffection, but declaring frankly that it was very odd, people should think of forcing them to make war against Cæsar, when they had neither the power nor inclination to do it. There were even some who explained themselves pretty fully on the project of seizing the Senators, and delivering them up to Cæsar. But Cato took no notice of what they said with respect to this last design, pretending not to hear them: and which he might do with the greater air of truth, as he actually was a little deaf. However it gave him the deepest concern. He now made it his great and only application how to secure the lives and retreat of the Senators. As, from the disposition he saw people in, he had given over all hopes of defending Utica, he determined not to survive its loss: but he did not think for that reason, that he ought to be unconcerned as to what became of his followers; and though he was indifferent as to the safety of his own person, yet he made it his chief attention to procure the safety of his friends.

Having taken a resolution to dispatch himself, his whole attention is employ'd, in securing the retreat of the Senators who had accompany'd him.

His apprehensions therefore redoubled, when word was brought him, that the cavalry, weary with waiting for his answer, were marching off. He rose from his seat and went to a place from whence he could discover them, where perceiving that they were actually upon their march, he immediately took horse and pursued them. Upon his coming up to them, they receiv'd him with joy, and advised him to save himself in their company. But that being the furthest from his thoughts, he earnestly

nestly entreated them, and as it is reported, A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46. joined tears to his entreaties, that they would protect the Senators in their retreat, and extricate them from the dangers they were expos'd to, in the midst of a perfidious people, who had already meditated their ruin. He neglected nothing which could induce the soldiers to relent, or excite their compassion: he extended his arms to them, turned their horses heads and embraced the soldiers in their armour. At length he prevailed with them so far as to consent to halt one day; and on their return posted some at the gates of the city, and others he entrusted with the care of the citadel.

The three hundred, alarmed at this proceeding, sent to Cato to desire him to come to council. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the power, an exalted virtue has over mens hearts, than the sentiments of admiration, tenderness and respect, which every person then in Utica testified for Cato. They were all divided in interest and opinion, and ready to become each other's enemies, and to cut each other's throats: yet they all agreed in admiring and cherishing a single man, who maintained tranquillity and peace in the midst of so many minds, distracted by fear, or exasperated thro' party-rage. When Cato received the message from the three hundred, the Senators endeavoured to dissuade him from complying with it, and told him they could never consent to deliver up their protector and preserver to infidels and traitors. But Cato knew there was no cause to be alarmed; and having represented as much to the Senators, he went unattended to the council.

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The members thanked him greatly for the confidence he reposed in them, and protested their zeal to serve him in any other manner but in war; and entreated him, if they were not Catos and could not attain his exalted sentiments, to have compassion on their inability. They added, that they had come to a resolution to send deputies to Cæsar to implore his clemency: but that the first and principal object of their solicitations should be Cato, for whom if they could not obtain a protection, they would not accept any pardon for themselves, but would fight in his defence, to the last moment of their lives.

Cato acknowledged himself obliged to them for their good intentions, approved of their design of submitting to Cæsar, and advised them to lose no time. But forbid them to make any mention of him in their solicitations. “It is for the vanquished, said he, to have recourse to prayers, and for those who are in fault to sue for pardon. As for me, I have been invincible during the whole course of my life, and even now am as victorious as I wish to be, and triumph over Cæsar by the superiority of justice and equity. It is he that is conquered; it is he that is overpowered: being this day attainted and convicted by undeniable evidence (notwithstanding he has always denied it) of plotting against his country.”

Κιζεατημέναι γὰρ εἶναι
δείκνυν, καὶ ἀδικήτων, τὴν πα-
ραίτησιν. αὐτοὶ δὲ μόνον ἀη-
τήσονται γένοιται παρὰ πάντα
τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νικᾷ ἐφ’ ὅσον
ἐβλήθη καὶ κρατῶν Καίσαρος

τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ δικαίοις. ἐκείνους
δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἐαλωκότα καὶ νενικη-
μένον. ὁ γὰρ ἡρεῖτο πράττειν
κατὰ τῆς πατριδὸς πάλα, νῦν
ἐξηλείχθαι καὶ περὶ φράσθαι.
Plut. Cat.

Cato,

Cato, as he came out from this conference with the three hundred, received intelligence that Cæsar was on his march with the greatest part of his forces, to besiege Utica. “Alas!

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“says Cato, he pays us a compliment we certainly do not deserve; he takes us for men.”

Another message, which he received presently after, gave room for another very judicious reflection of his. M. Octavius sent to let him know that he was near Utica with two legions and was ready to join him, but that it was necessary first to settle which of them should command in chief. Cato returned no answer to the message: but addressing himself to his friends: “Well, says he, ought we to be surprised that our affairs have not succeeded, when at the very instant of our destruction, we are contending for the vain ambition of commanding?”

The time granted by the cavalry was now expired; who, when they left the city, gave Cato a fresh opportunity of displaying his zeal for justice and honesty. They began plundering Utica, which they considered as an enemy's town. Cato was no sooner apprised of this outrage, than he hastened to put a stop to it. He snatched their unjust booty out of the hands of some of the first who came in his way; and the rest being confounded by his presence, immediately dropped what they were carrying off, and expressing their shame of such a proceeding by their silence and downcast looks, departed for the territories of King Juba, there to put themselves under his protection. They were accompanied by some Senators, particularly by Faustus Sylla, who gave to each of them an hundred sesterces.

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And if credit may be given to the author of the memoirs of the African war, Cato was obliged to make them the like present to prevail on them to spare the inhabitants of Utica.

Most of the Senators had preferred escaping by sea, to putting themselves under Juba's protection, and therefore continued yet in the city. As their danger encreased by the cavalry's going off, and more so by Cæsar's approach, Cato took the last measures for hastening and securing their retreat. He kept all the gates of the city shut, except that leading to the sea: he provided vessels for them, distributed money to such as might want it, gave directions for the embarkation, and used all endeavours to prevent the confusion which commonly attends a precipitate retreat. He took leave of some who were for immediately setting out, and persuaded others to follow them, who through their attachment to him, were inclined to stay. There was only his son and one Statilius, who could not be prevailed on to leave him.

He did not much endeavour to dissuade the former, thinking he ought not to oppose his filial piety and natural tenderness. With respect to Statilius, he made use of the most cogent arguments, on account of that Senator's known aversion to Cæsar. But he was a young man full of fire, who piqued himself on his constancy and greatness of soul, and a great stickler for Cato. He therefore adhered to his determination; and Cato finding him inflexible, said to two philosophers who constantly attended him: "It is your business to bend
 " that stubborn resolution, and give it a more
 " useful turn." The

The Senators were not the only objects of Cato's care. As his own particular safety was no longer his concern, he seemed to be more tenderly concerned for the safety of those about him. He now permitted the common people, whom he had compelled to encamp without the walls, to return into the city. And as these citizens had been always inclin'd to Cæsar, he begged of them to intercede for the three hundred, who, till the battle of Thapsus, had been of the republican party ; to make it one common cause with those Romans established among them, and mutually to endeavour to procure their common safety.

Not content with this, he did a remarkable piece of service for the three hundred, and directly opposite to his own private opinion. L. Cæsar, a relation of the Dictator, (but of a branch which had always declared against him and appeared strongly attached to the cause of liberty) however probably confiding in his alliance of blood, had continued in Utica, and even undertook to address the Dictator, in behalf of the three hundred. As he judged it necessary to prepare a speech for this occasion, he begged Cato to assist him in the composition : Cato, who at all other times so greatly affected state, and avoided all appearance of condescension, consented to it : and employed the most favourable expressions to represent the cause, and sought the most specious pretences to excuse the behaviour of the three hundred.

This L. Cæsar offered to be mediator for Cato. “ I will throw myself, said he, at the Dictator's feet, I will embrace his knees.” “ By no means, replied Cato ; were I disposed

A. R. 706. “ to owe my life to Cæsar, I myself should be
 Ann. C. 46. “ the properest person to go to him. But I do
 “ not intend to be obliged to him, for the in-
 “ justices he commits. For it is unjust in him
 “ to pardon as a master, persons, over whom
 “ he has no right, nor lawful power.” So
 that Cato, when L. Cæsar set out, contented
 himself with recommending his son and friends
 to him.

These different occupations employed him
 a whole night and great part of the next day.
 As soon as he returned to his own house, he
 assembled all his family, that is his friends
 and his son, and among other discourse, he
 forbid his son to have any share in the admini-
 stration of public affairs. “ You cannot do
 “ it, said he to him, in a manner worthy the
 “ name you bear : to do it upon any other con-
 “ ditions, were base and scandalous.”

He afterwards went into the bath, and there
 calling to mind Statilius, enquired after him of
 Apollonides, one of the two Philosophers re-
 commended to persuade him to consult his
 own safety. “ Have you succeeded, said he,
 “ with Statilius? is he gone without taking
 “ leave of us? No, replied the Philosopher, he
 “ is unalterable, and declares he will absolutely
 “ stay here, and do as you do. Cato smil’d
 “ and only made answer, we shall soon be able
 “ to judge of that.”

Cato's sup-
 per.

After bathing, he supped with a great deal
 of company ; having invited all his friends
 and the magistrates of the city. They sat late
 at table, and the conversation was lively, gay
 and instructive, turning on certain points of
 moral philosophy. But somebody having
 changed the discourse to the paradoxes of the
 Stoics,

Stoics, such as are these maxims, *that the wise man alone is free, that the vicious are slaves*, A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

which Demetrius a Peripatetic Philosopher, then in company, undertook to refute from the principles of his sect. Cato was extremely warm with him, and treated the matter so amply, and spoke with so much fire, earnestness, and vehemence of voice, that he betray'd himself, and confirmed the suspicions, his friends had already conceived, of his design to kill himself. As soon as he had finished his discourse, a melancholy silence diffused itself through the whole company. Cato perceived it, and to divert their concern, spoke of the present situation of affairs and of such persons as were on their return, expressing his uneasiness on their account, from the storms that some might be exposed to, and from the dry sandy deserts that others must be obliged to pass.

In this manner the supper ended: after which Cato walked for some time, as was his constant practice; and having given his orders to the officers of the guard, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved with unusual tenderness to his son and to all his friends: this renewed and confirmed their suspicions of the fatal resolution he had taken.

When he came into his chamber, he laid *His death.* himself on his bed and took up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the soul: and having made a considerable progress in it, happening to cast his eyes on the head of his bed, he was much surpris'd not to see his sword there; which had been taken away by his son's order, while they were at supper. Cato called a slave, and asked him, what was become of his sword; and receiving no answer, resumed his reading.

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Some time after he again asked for his sword, but without any hurry, or passion, as if he had no particular design. When he had done reading, perceiving that nobody was disposed to bring it him, he called all his slaves one after the other, and raising his voice, told them, he was determin'd to have his sword. His passion carried him so far as to strike one of them with his fist so violently on the mouth, that his hand was all bloody. “What then? said he
“with indignation, do my son and family con-
“spire to deliver me, to my enemy, unarm’d
“and defenceless?”

Then came in his son, accompanied by his friends, and with tears in his eyes besought him, in the most humble manner, to be prevailed on to change his resolution. Cato got up, and with a look that bespoke his resentment: “Since when then, said he, have I lost
“my senses, that my son is become my keep-
“er? I am treated just like a madman. No
“one makes use of argument or persuasion, to
“undeceive me, if I am in an error; but I
“am to be prevented disposing of my person,
“by being disarm’d. Brave and generous son,
“why do you not put your father in chains,
“why do you not tie my hands behind me,
“till Cæsar come and find me incapable of de-
“fence? Had I a mind to destroy myself, I
“could equally effect it, without a sword;
“since by holding my breath for some mo-
“ments, or only once dashing my head a-
“gainst the wall, I could dispatch myself,
“were I so disposed.” These terrible words, which certainly exceed what ought to be stil’d courage, so shocked young Cato, that he retired with loud lamentations.

His

His father, being now alone with the philo-
sophers, Demetrius and Apollonides, spoke to
them more mildly ; “ Do you also, said he
“ to them, approve of forcing a man of my
“ years to live, against his inclination, and of
“ keeping a constant watch over his actions ?
“ Or have you any reasons to alledge, to con-
“ vince me, that it is not unworthy Cato, nor
“ scandalous for him, to owe his safety to his
“ enemy ? Why then do not you display these
“ arguments, so new to me ; that by renounc-
“ ing the maxims wherein we were educated,
“ and growing wiser by Cæsar’s lessons, we
“ may still be the more obliged to him ? As
“ yet I have determined nothing as to the mea-
“ sures I shall pursue ; but that determination
“ once made, I must be at liberty to carry it
“ into execution. I will partly take it into
“ consideration with you, and demand your
“ assistance in explaining to me the principles
“ of philosophy, which you both teach and
“ practise. Cease then your apprehensions :
“ go, and tell my son, not to undertake to
“ force his father to what he cannot persuade
“ him to.” It is pretty odd that Cato should
that instant deny his having determined how
to act. All his preceding behaviour seems o-
penly to declare the contrary ; and I see not
how he can here be excused his want of sin-
cerity.

Demetrius and Apollonides made him no
answer, but retired weeping. A young slave
brought him his sword : Cato drew it, examin-
ed it, and finding the point to be sharp and
fit for execution, “ Now, says he, I am my
“ own master.” He laid down his sword,
took

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Ant. C. 46.

A. R. 725. took up his book, and read it from the beginning to the end. Plutarch assures us, that he afterwards slept, and so soundly, that those, who waited without and listened at the door, heard him snore. However it does not seem very credible, that between the violent agitation he had been so lately in, and the moment preceding his death, he could enjoy an uninterrupted sleep. One would be more apt to think, that, by this affectation of tranquillity, he hoped to augment the false glory he expected from a voluntary death.

About midnight he called two of his freedmen, one of which, named Cleanthes, was his Physician or Surgeon, the other, by name Butas, was principally entrusted with the management of his affairs. He dispatched this latter to the sea-side, in order to see and let him know if every body was embarked. The service Cleanthes did him, was to dress his hand, which had got an inflammation, occasioned by the violent blow he had given his slave. Cato, by this application to his hand, gave fresh hopes and comfort to his family, who concluded he had not renounced life, since he was still careful of his body.

Butas returned and brought word that every body was embarked but Crassus, who was then going on board : but that the wind was very high, and the sea very rough. These last words drew a sigh from Cato, he lamented those who under such circumstances were obliged to put to sea. He sent Butas a second time to the port, to see if there might not be some one, who in the hurry of the embarkation had forgot some necessary provisions, and been obliged

bliged to put back to Utica. It was now near break of day ; and Cato, if we may believe Plutarch, slept yet a little more. But being interrupted by Butas, who soon returned, and assured his patron, that all was perfectly quiet, Cato ordered him to shut the door, and before he left the room, flung himself upon his bed, as if he intended to finish his night's rest.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

He was no sooner alone than he stabb'd himself with his sword, a little below his chest ; but not with that violence he intended, on account of the indisposition of his hand. So that he did not dye immediately, but in struggling he fell from his bed and overturned a table he made use of for geometrical figures. At the noise he made in his fall, his servants gave a shriek, and his son and friends immediately entered the room. They found him swimming in his blood, and his bowels fallen out at the aperture of the wound. However he was still alive and could yet see. The Surgeon came, and seeing the intestines were not wounded, was for replacing them and sewing up the wound. But when Cato had recovered his senses, and understood their intention to preserve his life, he push'd the Surgeon from him, and with a fierceness, the very relation of which makes one tremble, tore out his bowels and expired.

Such was Cato's death : a death celebrated by all antiquity ; but which the principles of our holy religion must condemn, and which reason itself cannot approve. I do not here intend to expatiate on those principles, which incontestably prove suicide to be criminal : but shall confine myself to what is proper to my subject ; and only desire, that my readers, in

*Reflections
on his
death.*

re-

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

recollecting the short observations I have interspersed in this narration, would be pleased to add one single reflection more, arising from the facts themselves. Which is, that it is evident, that pride was the motive of Cato's desperate resolution, and that, by the assistance of that vice only, he surmounted the fear of death, which he looked upon as a weakness. Plutarch makes him say to himself, that it would be shameful and unworthy of him to owe his life to Cæsar. These were his apprehensions. He could not support the thought of such an humiliation : and that he might not be obliged to his enemy for his life, he preferred depriving himself of it, by an act of despair. It is true, this pride, in his conceit, passed for a virtue. But it was certainly a vice, being condemned by all religion, and even by morality. However I will go still further ; and think I can convict him from his own principles.

The virtue, which he most piqu'd himself upon, during the whole course of his life, was an invincible constancy superior to all events. If so, 'tis evident that his death was the effect of a sudden loss of courage, of a lassitude of contending, and of a dejection of mind which wou'd not permit him to persist in his opposition. The remains of Pompey's party began to revive in Spain, and became afterwards very formidable. So, that to have kept up to his character, Cato ought to have yet tried that resource : and to kill himself, while yet any hopes subsisted, was deviating from his principles and abandoning too soon the cause of liberty.

So that I am very far from considering Cato's death as an act of heroism. 'Tis in his attention to the safety of his friends, when he himself made his life no longer his care ; 'tis in his invariable humanity to the three hundred, and the inhabitants of Utica ; 'tis in his love for justice, which induc'd him to oppose all violence in those of his own party ; 'tis in these circumstances alone that I find him the true hero.

This generous humanity was not only remarkable in the latter part of his life : it was the constant director of his actions and conduct : I know that this is not the idea commonly form'd of Cato. Resolution, haughtiness, and an austerity approaching to brutality, are the qualities most usually attributed to him. This idea, tho' just, yet is not compleat ; and to enter entirely into his character, 'tis necessary to add to his opposition to vice, his compassion for the offenders : a compassion, not the effect of mere opinion, subject to changes and caprices ; but proceeding from right reason, and always the same, because founded on unalterable principles. This is evident in his tender friendship for his brother, in his regard for Muræna, whom he impeach'd, in the tears he shed on seeing the slaughter of his fellow-citizens, lastly in his moderation and mildness to all, with whom he had to contend, in the defence of the liberty and laws of his country. I except only Cæsar, who, doing evil methodically, and going the shortest way to tyranny, without ever deviating from his plan, cou'd be considered no otherwise by Cato than as a common enemy, against whom the whole state ought to rise up in arms, and who ought to be treated

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.
Cato truly
valuable
for the
mildness
which ac-
companied
his re-
solution.

A. R. 706. treated with severity, because there were no
 AN. C. 45. hopes of his amendment.

He may be esteem'd one of the most virtuous men Paganism ever produc'd. If to these two principal parts of his character, resolution and humanity, be added his elevated genius, the extent and sagacity of his views, his indefatigable application to business, and his purity of manners, we shall find, notwithstanding some defects which we have occasionally taken notice of, that he ought to be esteem'd, one of the most valuable and virtuous men, Paganism ever produc'd: nor need we be surpris'd, that Virgil ^a has plac'd him in the Elysian fields at the head of the friends to virtue: and perhaps we may think the high compliment, paid him by Livy, and reported by St. Jerom, not ill applied. “Ca-
 “to^b, said that judicious writer, has been ce-
 “lebrated, and condemn'd, by two of the
 “greatest genius's, that ever existed. But no
 “one cou'd either add to his reputation, by
 “commendations, or detract from it, by cen-
 “sure.” The two great genius's Livy speaks of, are Cicero and Cæsar. The first had compos'd a panegyric on Cato, which is lost, and which he call'd by the name of his hero. The latter answered it in two tracts, intituled *Anticatoes*, but neither of them survived the work they endeavour'd to refute.

An inexcusable circumstance in his life, relating to his wife Marcia. The only circumstance, wherein Cato's conduct of life seems reproachable, and wherein 'tis most difficult to excuse him, was his behaviour

^a Secretosque piòs, his dantem jura Catonem. *Virg. Æn. l. VIII. v. 670.*

^b Cujus gloriæ neque profuit quisquam laudandus, nec

vituperando quisquam nocuit, quum utrumque summis præditi fecerint ingeniis. *Liv. apud Hieron. Prob. I. II. in Ojeam.*

to his wife Marcia. He had had several children by her, and she was actually big at the time Hortensius took it into his head to ask him for her. Cato readily agreed to the resigning her, and as soon as he had procur'd her father Philippus's consent, gave her away himself in marriage to Hortensius. But Hortensius dying soon after and bequeathing his great riches to Marcia, in prejudice of his son, who was somewhat dissolute ; Cato made no scruple to retake her. From thence Cæsar has taken occasion to tax Cato with having transacted this whole affair through a sordid principle. But Plutarch pretends that such an accusation is refuted in the very proposition, and that 'tis the same thing to tax Hercules with cowardice, as to charge Cato with avarice. The thing certainly admits of more difficulty, or rather is absolutely inexcusable. For allowing what Strabo has advanced to be true, that Cato in that only follow'd a long establish'd custom among the Romans ; that pretended custom is so contrary to common honesty, and morality, that 'twould have been more becoming a person of his dignity to oppose it, than to give it a sanction by his example.

Strabo. l.
XI. p.
515.

Cato was forty eight years old when he died : and the place of his death has occasion'd his being stil'd in history, Cato of Utica, to distinguish him from Cato the Censor, his great-grandfather.

In an instant the news of Cato's death was spread thro' the city ; which drew an incredible concourse, as well of the three hundred, as of the Uticans, about his house. They made the air resound with encomiums on the dead hero, stiling him their benefactor, their

*His funeral
commendations be-
stowed on
him by the
inhabi-
tants of U-
tica.*

N

saviour,

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

faviour, alone free and invincible. And indulg'd these their transports, notwithstanding they knew Cæsar was so near them. But neither the apprehensions of the conqueror's resentment, nor any inclination to flatter him, nor their own private feuds were capable of damping their zeal for honouring Cato's virtue. They solemniz'd his obsequies with great pomp, and erected a monument to him near the sea-shore, where, in Plutarch's days, was extant a statue of Cato, holding a sword in his hand.

De B. Afr.
n. 88.

His very enemies could not refuse him their commendations. The author of the memoirs of the African war, all devoted as he is to Cæsar, confirms Cato's integrity, and acknowledges that he was extremely different from the rest of the chiefs of the conquered party.

Cæsar's
expression
on the news
of Cato's
death.
What may
be thought
of the con-
cern he
shew'd in
not being
able to save
his life.

Cæsar, being inform'd of his death, broke out into this exclamation. "O Cato! I envy you the glory of your death: for you have envied me that of saving your life." Whether he spoke sincerely in expressing his desire of saving his most implacable enemy, is what Plutarch thought he might have liberty to doubt. And this doubt he founds on the heavy invectives, with which Cæsar had fill'd his Anticatores. How could he have spar'd living, says this historian, the man, to whose very memory he has shewn so deadly an hatred? This argument may be supported by two considerations, one taken from the lively resentment Cæsar shew'd, as I have already taken notice of and which I shall have a further opportunity of observing, against those who had

¹ Κατατρεφθὲν σοι τῷ θανάτῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἰμὲν σὺ τῆς σαρ-

τῇ σωτηρίας ἐφθονήσας.

Plut. Cæs. & Cat.

kindled

kindled the war in Africa : the other, which is full as weighty, may be drawn from the impossibility of Cato and Cæsar's ever agreeing in the same manner of thinking, acting or speaking. However Plutarch determines in Cæsar's favour : and 'tis certain that the extraordinary instances of clemency he has shewn, and the infinite honour such an act of generosity would have done him, are motives which strengthen the probability of this conjecture. Especially, if Cato had put in execution the scheme he had form'd on a supposition that affairs might have taken another turn, of confining himself to some distant island, there to pass the remainder of his days in quiet, I cannot think that Cæsar would have sullied his glory by the death of so virtuous a man.

He was not far from Utica, at the time Cæsar to kill'd himself: and in his passage he had taken the city of Uscæta, where Scipio had collected great magazines; he had also made himself master of Adrumetum, where he met with Q. Ligarius, whose life he pardon'd, but would not permit him to return to Rome. Before he entred Utica, he was met by L. Cæsar, who prostrating himself before him, obtain'd for the present the pardon he sued for. However he did not enjoy it long. The Dictator cou'd not but resent the behaviour of this young relation, who had on all occasions shewn himself his implacable enemy, had treated several of his domestics with more than ordinary cruelty, and had order'd the beasts to be killed, which the Conqueror had reserv'd for the games he intended to give the Roman people. So that some time after he call'd him to an account for the abovemention'd irregularities,

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

Cæsar comes to Utica. Pardons Cato's son and lays a heavy tax on the Romans settled in that city.
De B. Afr. n. 89.
Suet. Cæs. n. 75.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.
De B. Afr. rities, and without pronouncing his condemnation, stirr'd up the soldiers to kill him, as it were in a mutiny. He was more sincere in pardoning several Romans of high rank, who had still continued in Utica, the most eminent of whom was Cato's son.

The citizens, who had always been staunch to him, had nothing to expect but commendations and rewards. Not so the three hundred : who, as they had serv'd both Scipio and Varus, with inclination and affection, during the whole course of the war, and had had no other inducement to side with Cæsar than his success, were under mortal apprehensions. Cæsar's design however was only to punish them in their pocket : but he began by intimidating them with a long and enforc'd invective, wherein he greatly exaggerated their pretended crime. Then growing milder, he promised them their lives, but declar'd that their effects should be sold, which however were to be redeemable on payment of a certain tax. The three hundred, who expected to have been treated with the utmost rigour, submitted with joy and gratitude to the penalties prescribed them. They only desir'd Cæsar to impose a general tax, and leave the assessment of it to them. This was doubtless what he wanted, so that he taxed them at *two hundred millions of sesterces, to be paid at six equal payments into the public treasury of the Roman people, in the space of three years. These were the terms Cæsar made use of ; but at that time the Roman people had nothing left but the name ; the real power and authority, as well as the management of the finances were solely vested in the Dictator.

*1562500l.

By

By this time Juba was return'd to his kingdom, after a very fatiguing retreat, marching only in the night, and concealing himself during the day in such cottages as he met with in his rout. As Sabura his Lieutenant had been defeated and kill'd by Sittius, he had no other hope left than to shut himself up in Zama, his capital, which he had taken care to well fortify. But he found by experience that a government maintain'd by cruelty and barbarity, creates infidelity in its subjects. Before he proceeded on his expedition, he had order'd a great pile to be erected on the market place of Zama and declar'd he intended, in case he should be defeated, to put all the inhabitants to death, and then place their bodies, himself, his treasure, his wives and children on the pile, to be there consum'd by the flames. So desperate a resolution had struck the inhabitants of Zama with horror ; so that they were not at all displeased to hear of Cæsar's success ; and when Juba thought to have entred the city, they shut the gates against him. He at first assum'd his authority, and threaten'd them ; but finding it to no purpose, he next had recourse to entreaties, tho' with no better success : he then desir'd only to have his wives and children deliver'd up to him, but this request was also denied him. Whereupon he retir'd to his palace in the country attended by Petreïus, and a few horsemen who had accompanied him. Even in this abandon'd state, he was yet formidable to the inhabitants of Zama ; and they sent deputies to Cæsar to desire him to come to their assistance. Cæsar, who was then at Utica, set out the next day. He found the whole country open to him, and every body sought his

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.
*Juba's
flight. Zama his capital
shuts its gates against him.
His death.*

A. R. 706
Ant. C. 46.

protection. And now the unfortunate Juba, having no resource left, determin'd to die. Petreius and he agreed on a duel, with intent mutually to kill each other. But the stronger too easily triumph'd over the weaker, and Petreius alone was kill'd. Juba attempted to stab himself, but not having resolution enough to effect it, ordered one of his slaves to kill him.

The conqueror meets with no resistance. M. Scipio falls on his own sword.

The Conqueror's fortune bore down all before it, with such irresistible rapidity, as entirely to extirpate the remains of the conquered party. The cities of Tyfdrus and Thapsus, which Cæsar had ordered to be besieged by his Lieutenants, were not long before they surrendered. Faustus Sylla and Afranius, who fled with a body of fifteen hundred horse, and were making for Spain, fell in with Sittius, who had defeated Sabura. This body was by him routed and dispersed, and the two Chiefs were taken prisoners. Nor had Metellus Scipio better success in his flight. He had collected twelve ships, with which he purposed to get to Spain. But having been obliged, thro' stress of weather, to put into Hippo, he there fell in with Sittius's fleet, and was instantly surrounded. As he perceived there was no preventing his ships being taken, rather than fall into Cæsar's hands, he stabbed himself, and in his last moments gave an instance of his greatness of soul. For when some of the enemy's soldiers, who had boarded his ship, enquired, what was become of the General? he replied with his dying voice, the General is safe.

Sen. Ep.

2. 4.

N. Africa reduc'd to a Roman province. Sal.

inst made

Gæsar

of it, where

he rules

with great

tyranny.

All Cæsar's enemies in Africa being thus ruined, the Conqueror allowed himself some time for calming the country, and for making a distribution of rewards and punishments according.

according to the different services that had been done him. He reduced Numidia to a Roman province, and gave the government of it to Sallust, who exercised there such flagrant oppressions, that it gave room for Dio to conjecture he had Cæsar's express orders for so doing, and that he was not so much deputed to govern Numidia, as to plunder it. The same Dio remarks that this conduct of Sallust is still the more blameable, as he affects throughout his works an air of probity, not to say severity: so that though he, through Cæsar's protection, on quitting his government escaped a judiciary condemnation, he nevertheless is condemned, which is still more scandalous, by his own writings.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

Dio. l.
XLIII.

Among the Numidians Cæsar distinguished those of Zama, and rewarded them for having shut their gates against their King, by a total exemption of taxes. Sittius, who had done him such signal service, was by him, together with his people, put in possession of Cirta, which had formerly been the royal city of Masinissa and of Syphax, and which from the name of its new inhabitants has since been call'd the *Colony of the Sittians*.

Cæsar's
distribution
of rewards
and punish-
ments.
De B. Afr.
Appian.
Civil. l.
IV.

In the penalties he inflicted, he was guided by his aversion to cruelty, and by his covetousness after money. So that he took care not to extend his resentment to Juba's son, who was yet a child; but he made a sale in Zama of his entire patrimony, and of the effects of the Roman citizens who were settled there and had appeared in arms against him. On his return to Utica, he in like manner confiscated and sold the effects of all who had had the rank of Centurion under Petreius, and under Juba. He

De B. Afr.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

tax'd the cities of Adrumetum and Thapsus, and exacted a yearly revenue in oil and corn, from Leptis and Tyfdrus.

He puts to
death Fauf-
tus Sylla
and Afra-
nius.

Suet. Cæf.
n. 75.
Flor. l. 1.
IV. c. 2.
Dio, &c.

Of the Romans of distinction, of whose fate victory had given him the disposal, two were put to death, Faustus Sylla and Afranius. And tho' the author of the memoirs of the African war says, that this was in consequence of a sedition among the soldiery, yet it is easy to see that this commotion was the effect of Cæsar's policy. And indeed all other writers ascribe their death to his orders. Doubtless he thought he had a right to treat Afranius with rigour, who, tho' he had given him his life in Spain, had opposed him afresh both in Theffaly and Africa; and even at the time he was taken by Sittius, was making preparations to go and join Pompey's son in Spain. Faustus was not only Pompey's son-in-law, but the son of Sylla, to whom Cæsar had ever had a violent averfion, and whose schemes he had constantly endeavoured to subvert. However he fpar'd Pompeia the wife of Faustus Sylla, and her children.

Afranius, Faustus Sylla, and L. Cæsar are the only persons of note, whose blood Cæsar spilt after the battle of Thapsus; which however is a considerable exception to the encomium beftow'd on his clemency by Cicero, when he afferts generally, “^a that the citizens which the Republic loft, were carried off by the common chance of war, and not thro' any resentment of the conquerors.”

^a Quos amiffimus cives, eos Martis vis perculit, non ira victoriæ. Cic. pro Marc. n. 17.

But those three excepted, his rigour to the
vanquish'd extended no further than banish-
ment. This was the only distinction he made
between those, who readily submitted after the
battle of Pharsalia, and those, whose obstina-
cy obliged him to conquer them a second time
in Africa. The first, for the most part, were
immediately restor'd to all their former privi-
leges; and a banishment from Italy, and Rome,
was the punishment of the obstinacy of the lat-
ter. Yet he permitted all his friends and prin-
cipal officers to exempt each his friend from
this penalty: and young Octavius made the
first trial of his credit with his great uncle in
obtaining this favour for Agrippa's brother,
who from that time became his firm friend. In
process of time Cæsar grew still more moderate,
and complied with the request of several for
the like purpose, insomuch that some short
time before his death he granted an act of grace.
He also gave the same instance of his modera-
tion and wisdom after the victory of Thapsus,
which had redounded so much to his honour
after the battle of Pharsalia, in burning all Me-
tellus Scipio's papers, which fell into his hands.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.
*His clemen-
cy to the
rest.*

Dio.

Nicol.
Damasc.
de instit.
Augusti.
Suet.

Dio.

Cæsar left Utica the 13th of June, having
put an end to a war of such importance, and
attended with so much difficulty in little more
than five months. He took his rout by Sardi-
nia, from whence he sent a part of his fleet and
of his legions, into Spain, under the command
of C. Didius, with orders to observe young
Pompey's motions, and to put a stop to his
progress. As for himself, after having made
some stay in that island, he put to sea again:
but in his passage meeting with foul weather, he
was not able to get to Rome 'till about the end
of July.

*His return,
having put
an end to
the African
war in
little more
than five
months.*

DeB. Afr.

§. II.

Flattering decrees of the Senate. Cæsar having resolv'd to make a mild use of the supreme power, solemnly engages himself to it in his speech to the Senate. Reflections on Cæsar's plan of conduct. He celebrates four triumphs; for the victories gain'd over the Gauls, in Alexandria and Egypt, over Pharnaces and over Juba. Satirical reflections on Cæsar, of an uncommon licence, sung by the soldiers during the triumph. Rewards bestow'd by Cæsar on his soldiers. His bounty to the people. Roman Knights fight as Gladiators. Cæsar engages Laberius to play a part in the Mimi of his composition. Laberius's smart repartee to Cicero. Temple of Venus genitrix. Cæsar's forum. Amount of the sums carried by Cæsar in his triumphs. Regulations made by Cæsar, for repairing the diminution in the number of citizens: against luxury: in favour of physicians, and professors of the liberal arts. The Calendar reform'd. Cæsar's conduct blameable, in what. He consents to Marcellus's return. Cicero's oration on that occasion. Unhappy death of Marcellus. The affair of Ligarius. Cicero pleads for him. Cæsar pardons him. Cicero's constrain'd leisure. He employs it in the composition of several works. His concern, occasion'd by the present state of affairs, abates. His political conduct towards Cæsar. He gains the affection of Cæsar's friends. Eulogium on Cato composed by Cicero. Cæsar's Anticatores. Cicero's excessive grief on account of the death of his daughter Tullia.

T H E

THE Senate had anticipated Cæsar's return by some decrees full of the most fervile flattery, and by marks of honour, by so much the more excessive as they proceeded not from the heart, but were dictated by fear; their apprehensions exaggerating every thing, the better to counterfeit zeal and affection. I shall confine myself to some of the most remarkable instances.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.
*Flattering
decrees of
the Senate.*
Dio. l.
XLIII.

It was decreed, that there should be feasts and rejoicings for forty days to celebrate the victory gain'd by Cæsar in Africa; that on the days of triumph his chariot should be drawn by four white horses, in the same manner as the chariots of Jupiter and of the Sun; and that on those days, besides the customary Lictors of his office, he should be preceded by those of his two antecedent Dictatorships, making together seventy two Lictors. To these distinctions, which were merely honorary, the Senate added titles of more solid and real power: such as the Dictatorship for ten years, and the office of Inspector of Morals (a title substituted, I know not for what reason, in lieu of that of Censor) for three years. Nothing now remained but to raise him above the degree of a mortal: and this was even attempted by decreeing him a statue on a triumphal carr, which was to be placed in the Capitol opposite to Jupiter's, having the globe of the earth under his feet, with this inscription, TO CÆSAR THE DEMI-GOD.

Cæsar having resolved to make a mild use of the supreme

Cæsar had too much penetration not to perceive, from what principle this extraordinary earnestness to confer honours on him, so contrary to the ancient constitution of government, proceeded. However he was pleased with it, and

power, solemnly engages himself to it, in a speech to the Senate.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

and accepted them. But as he was hitherto only indebted to his power for them ; he was now desirous to merit them. As he had now attain'd the height of his wishes, and saw his ambition gratified with Sovereignty, the plan he propos'd to follow was to make a mild and moderate use of a fortune, which was capable of no further addition ; and was willing and desirous that the Romans should be happy, provided they were in subjection to him.

Full of these thoughts, he declar'd in his first speech to the Senate after his return to Rome, the principles of clemency and generosity by which he intended to govern, nor did he make any scruple to contract a solemn engagement, he had no other intention than to fulfil. He began by removing the apprehensions every body was under, and which were but too well grounded, from the cruel examples shewn by all, who till then had been successful in the civil wars. For his part, he protested, that power and victory were the motives which inclin'd him to humanity. “ For, says he, “ from whom ought benefits to flow, but from “ him who has the means of bestowing ? Who “ is less excusable in committing faults, than “ he whose power is unlimited ? who ought “ to show the most prudence and circumspec- “ tion in the use of the gifts of providence, but “ he who has receiv'd them in the greatest a- “ bundance ? and whom does it most concern “ to make a prudent disposition of the estate he “ enjoys, but him who has the richest posses- “ sions, and consequently has most to lose ? “ Think not that I shall follow the steps of “ Sylla. My intentions are to be your chief, “ not your master ; to transact your affairs, “ not

“ not to tyrannise over you. When I can be
 “ useful to you, I will be your Consul and
 “ Dictator ; but the instant any one’s pro-
 “ perty is to be invaded, I am no more than
 “ a private person.”

Such were Cæsar’s sentiments, which were without doubt laudable and generous, but more suitable to a lawful Sovereign, than to an Usurper, than which he was no better.

This was a reflection, I may venture to say, he never made. Nor does he seem sensible of the essential difference between his situation, and that of a Prince, whose birth-right, or a free and regular election intitles him to obedience. He was in hopes to make amends for the violence with which he had wrested the sovereign power, by his personal mildness. But he was mistaken, and this mistake was the cause of his death. This evinces how much a tyrannical ambition ought to be detested, as it admits of no amendment ; and that after having committed all kinds of crimes to attain an unjust power, it is necessary, even in the height of that power, to continue them, or perish *.

Cæsar renewed to the people the same protestations of mildness and clemency, he had made to the Senate : and the effects being found conformable to his declaration, the citizens by degrees recovered from the consternation

* Sylla, whose example seems to contradict this reflection, supported himself by force as long as he kept the Dictatorship ; and though, after abdicating it, he continued in perfect tranquillity during the short remaining part of his life, this was owing to some extraordinary circumstances, peculiar to him, as I have observed in its proper place.

A. R. 726. tion and fright they had at first been seized
 Ant. C. 45. with. But the hatred the nobility bore the
 oppressor of liberty, was an evil to which
 there was no remedy.

*He cele-
 brates four
 triumphs.*

Suet. Cæs.

c. 37.

Vell. II.

56.

Flor. IV.

2.

Dio.

Hitherto Cæsar had been totally engaged in the wars, and those wars had so closely succeeded each other, that he had not had the least leisure for triumph. But as he had now some time to dispose of, he employed it in the celebration of four triumphs, in the course of one month, but at proper intervals. His first triumph was over the Gauls, the next over Alexandria and Egypt, the third over Pharnaces and Pontus, and in the fourth and last place over King Juba.

In these triumphs Cæsar shewed all the magnificence his taste naturally led him to, and as much as could be supported by the riches of the empire, of which he then had the disposal. He was particularly careful in varying the ornaments ^b, whose materials for each triumph were different. For the first he made use of citron-wood, for the second he employed tortoise-shell, for the third the acanthus ^c, and for the fourth ivory.

That over the Gauls was without dispute the most splendid and superb. There were to be seen the Rhine, the Rhone, and the captive Ocean represented in gold. A multitude of prisoners preceded the chariot; and among others, or rather above the others, was to

^b *Vellius has made use of the word apparatus, which was very intelligible to the Romans, but is not so to us. By this word probably is meant the frames of the pictures and the bases which supported the*

images and other such like pageants.

^c *By this is certainly meant the Acanthus Spinofus, which chiefly grows in Libya and Egypt.*

be distinguished Vercingetorix, that unfortunate chief of confederate Gaul; who had been reserved upwards of six years to grace his Conqueror's triumph, and was, after the ceremony, flung into a dungeon, and put to death: an unhappy period to the life of a man, whose only crime was having attempted to rescue his country's liberty. It would have done more honour to Cæsar, in my opinion, if he had shewn the like generosity to this brave Gaul as he had done to so many vanquish'd Romans, whose resentment to him was perhaps more violent, and certainly more formidable. But the Gauls were then look'd upon by the Romans on the footing of Barbarians, and treated as such.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

The gaiety of the festival was interrupted by an accident. For during the procession the axle-tree of the triumphal chariot broke, and the General had like to have fallen to the ground. So that it was night before the chariot could be mended, and Cæsar ascended the Capitol by the light of several lustres, carried by forty elephants, regularly ranged on the right and left.

Dio reports that he ascended the Capitol on his knees. It must then be in conformity to an established custom, which Cæsar thought could not be dispensed with; not even though he had almost been put on a par, by the extravagant honours shewn him, with the God to whom he paid such low homage.

In the triumph occasioned by the Alexandrian war, the conqueror gave the people a representation of the river Nile, and of the tower of Pharos on fire. The deaths of Achilles and Pothinus were represented in two different

A. R. 706.
AEL. C. 46.

different pictures. And Arsinoë Cleopatra's sister, was there led captive and afterwards set at liberty.

The triumph over Pharnaces had nothing more remarkable than the famous inscription, *veni, vidi, vici*. I came, saw, and conquer'd. This was engraved in capitals on a tablet, which was carried with great pomp.

Lastly, in the fourth triumph wherein Cæsar celebrated his victory over King Juba, the son of that Prince, of the same name with his father and at that time a child, underwent the same rigorous law, the Romans imposed on all their prisoners. He appeared on that occasion as a captive. But Plutarch has judged his captivity fortunate to him, as it procured him an excellent education, and gave him an opportunity of instructing himself in the Greek and Latin literature. From these helps he made so great an improvement in his understanding and knowledge, as to become a celebrated author; besides this further advantage of attaining the most mild and humane deportment. He afterwards had part of his paternal possessions restored to him, and was made King of Mauritania. But Pliny was of opinion that the reputation^d of his learning was to him more honourable than his crown.

Appian.
Civ. II.

It is observable that no Roman is mentioned in the title of any of these triumphs. Cæsar imitated the example of moderation prescribed him by Sylla on a like occasion, and was unwilling to insult the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens. However if credit may be given to Appian, Cæsar's caution extended only to the

^d Studiorum clāritate memorabilior etiam, quàm regno.
Plin. V. 1.

terms, and not to the things themselves. This historian relates, that he caused to be carried in his triumph representations of all the memorable events of the civil war; and portraits of all the Romans of distinction who had there perished, Pompey only excepted: there was to be seen Metellus Scipio falling on his own sword, Cato tearing out his bowels, and so of the rest. If this account may be credited, I am surpris'd that Appian should be the only writer who has preserv'd so detestable a circumstance, and particularly, that Cicero, who mentions the spectators concern, when they saw the city of Marseilles carried in triumph, has omitted these other circumstances which must have been infinitely more affecting to the Romans. I leave it to the Reader's judgment, whether my doubts are well founded. But the authority of Appian alone is not sufficient to determine me, in a fact of this nature.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

Cic. Phil.
VIII. 18.

Cæsar, even at this high point of glory, could not be exempt from the cynical licence of his soldiers. It was a long established custom, as has been observed elsewhere, on these festivals, where joy produced licentiousness, for the troops during the procession to sing some coarse couplets, which sometimes contained the triumpher's praises, but were oftner so many satyrs on him. Cæsar's soldiers pushed this liberty to a very great excess; reflecting with very great severity on their General's morals, which gave but too fair an opening. I must be dispens'd citing their very words, and shall only observe that they revived the suspicions he had formerly lain under during his stay at the court of Nicomedes.

Satirical reflections on Cæsar, of an uncommon licence, sung by the soldiers during the triumph.
Suet. Cæs. 49, 51.

A. R. 706. medes. Suspicions which gave Cæsar great
 Ant. C. 46. offence, but which he could never get clear
 of, notwithstanding his oath to the contrary.
 Of such importance is it to reputation to have
 prudently spent one's youth, whose indiscre-
 tions the world seldom forgets or forgives.

Plin. XIX. One must not be surprised after this, that
 8. not satisfied with the rewards Cæsar bestowed
 on them, though in themselves abundant, they
 reproached him with having subsisted them on
 herbage, when they lay near Dyrrachium.
 But it is very extraordinary that they should
 reflect on him for unjustly usurping and main-
 taining a tyrannical command.

Dio. “ If you are
 “ the honest man you pretend, said they all
 “ in general, you ought to be punished : but
 “ if you continue to be unjust, you may also
 “ continue in power.” Which was plainly
 telling him, that he could not escape condem-
 nation, if he left the people the uncontrouled
 exertion of their rights, and that he had no
 other method of enjoying sovereignty than by
 oppressing his fellow-citizens.

Rewards Notwithstanding Cæsar's soldiers thought
bestowed by the rewards bestowed on them too moderate,
Cæsar on yet they were actually very exorbitant. He
his soldiers. gave to each veteran twenty thousand sesterces,
 Frein- making about one hundred and sixty pounds
 stem. of our money ; he doubled the sum to e-
 CXV. 14. very Centurion, and gave the quadruple to
 every Tribun and Horseman : and all this ex-
 clusive of the lands and settlements he be-
 stowed on them. The conclusion is, that if
 they were not satisfied, it is from the impos-
 sibility of contenting troops, who are sensible
 that their General employs them, for his own
 interest, and not for the public utility.

The military were not the only persons who felt the effects of Cæsar's liberality. He gave to each citizen of the lower class, ten bushels of corn, ten pound of oil, and 400 sesterces in money, (about three guineas.) The number of those who received this bounty amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand. Besides these distributions, there was a treat given to the whole people: twenty two thousand tables were set out in the streets, and served with profusion. To these expences, Cæsar further added that of public spectacles of all sorts, combats of gladiators and wrestlers, representations of sea-fights in a lake made on purpose near the city, plays, courses in the Circus, tournaments, and hunting of deer and elephants.

A. R. 706.
Ant. O. 46.
His bounty to the people.

In the combats of gladiators given by Cæsar on this occasion, an indignity was first practised, if I am not mistaken, which afterwards became frequent under the Emperors. There were Roman Knights hardy enough to enter the lists, and, at the hazard of their lives, prostitute their honour, and lavish their blood, for the vanity of pleasing the multitude. There was also one Q. Calpurnius^e, who had been a Senator, who condescended to the like indignity; but when Fulvius, who was actually Senator, offered to engage, Cæsar would not suffer it.

Roman Knights engaged as Gladiators.

Among other theatrical pieces, there were some farces played called by the Greeks and Romans, Mimi. Laberius, a Roman Knight, happened to excel in this kind of composition.

Cæsar engages Labienus to play a part in the Mimi of his composition.

^e The dignity of Senator was for life, unless they were degraded by the Censors, on account of some irregularity, or from a voluntary abdication. Without doubt this Calpurnius was under one of these two circumstances.

Macrobi. Sat. II. 7.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

Cæsar, not satisfied with his furnishing him pieces for his entertainment, still further presumed on his complaisance, and insisted that he himself should play a part in them. The poet consented, but with regret, as appears by his prologue, which Macrobius has preserved, wherein he heavily complains, that he, who had quitted his house as a Roman Knight, should be obliged to return to it as a comedian.

However he took care to make himself some reparation for this violence, by some lines he inserted in his Mimi, which had an obvious allusion to the present posture of affairs. Such as introducing a person on the stage, who cried out, “Romans, we are losing our liberty.” There was also another line, which was particularly taken notice of, signifying, “He who is feared by many, has many to fear.” The whole audience made the application of this maxim to Cæsar, by turning their eyes upon him.

The Dictator was offended at this the poet’s license ; and this disgust biassed his judgment, in awarding the prize to Pub. Syrus, Laberius’s competitor. However he took care to reward him for having degraded himself at his instigation, by presenting him on the spot with a golden ring, as it were to reinstate him in his knighthood, and by giving him a further gratuity of five * hundred thousand sesterces.

* 3906 L.

Laberius’s
smart re-
partes to
Cicero.

Sen. Cont.
VII. 3.

Macro-
b. Sat. II. 3.

When Laberius had played his part, he went to take his seat among the Roman Knights. Who thinking it a double dishonour to them, that one of their order should be compelled to

† Necessè est multos timeat, quem multi timent.

appear on the stage, and after having there play'd, should return to his seat among them, plac'd themselves in such a manner that there was no room left for him. Laberius, in order to come at the Knights, was obliged to pass over the Senators benches. Cicero, as he came by him, seeing him somewhat disconcerted, said to him : " I would make you room among us, if I were not already too much crowded." This he said not only to ridicule Laberius, but at the same time to reflect on the number of new Senators created by Cæsar, without any choice, or regard to rules, or decency. The Poet who was thoroughly piqued, made Cicero a very smart answer : " You surprise me, says he, for you were wont to sit on two seats at once." This was a proverbial expression, signifying among the Romans, what we mean by a Trimmer, or one who floats between two parties. So that Laberius reflected on Cicero, because, by keeping plausibly fair with both Cæsar and Pompey, he had been a stanch friend to neither.

All these entertainments given by Cæsar, were not merely on account of his triumphs. He had other pretences ; such as the dedication of a temple erected at his charge in honour of Venus Genitrix, that is to say, to Venus, worshipped as the head of the Julian Family ; the opening of a new Forum, another monument of his magnificence ; lastly the funeral honours due to the memory of his daughter, who died several years before, whilst he was in Gaul.

One cannot help being in some measure astonished at this immense profusion of all kinds. And I doubt whether the sums carried by Cæsar in triumph, as the fruits of his victories,

A. R. 706. were sufficient, altho', according to Appian,
 Ant. C. 46. they amounted to sixty five thousand talents,
Amount of the sums that is, to upwards of twelve millions of our
carried by money. And in this sum are not included two
Cæsar in his tri- thousand eight hundred twenty two crowns of
umphs. gold, weighing together twenty thousand four
 Appian 1. hundred and fourteen Roman pounds.

II. These Festivals were succeeded by affairs of
Regulati- greater importance. Cæsar, whose genius was
ons made universal, and who was not less adapted to
by Cæsar. make a prudent Legislator, than a triumphant
 Conqueror, reform'd divers abuses, and endea-
 vour'd to find remedies to such evils as requir'd
 the most immediate redress.

For repair- The number of citizens was considerably di-
ing the di- minish'd since the commencement of the civil
minution in war. The Dictator, who perfectly well knew
a number that the strength of a state consists in the num-
of citizens ber of its people, made several regulations to-
 wards repairing the loss, and for encouraging
 the increase of the Romans. He promised re-
 wards to such married men as should get a
 number of children : and forbid any citizen a-
 bove twenty, or under forty years of age, to
 be absent from Italy more than three years, un-
 less they serv'd in the troops. By the same or-
 der no Senator's son could travel out of Italy,
 except in company of some Magistrate. Lastly
 as a multiplicity of slaves occasioned the lower
 class of people's being out of employment, who
 being thereby reduced to misery, perish'd with-
 out having it in their power to marry and leave
 issue, the Dictator order'd that at least one
 third of the Herdsmen should be free-men.

Against
luxury :

The extravagance of dress and the luxury of
 diet next claim'd his attention. He limited the
 use of purple and jewels to particular persons,
 and

and for certain days, and reviv'd the sumptuary laws, which he was particularly careful should be carried into execution: insomuch that he appointed Commissaries to inspect the markets, to prevent the selling of any prohibited meats, whether fish or flesh. And sometimes on receiving intelligence of such meats being bought, he sent Lictors and soldiers into the houses of private persons, to seize the victuals as they were serving up to their tables.

For the honour of letters, I must not omit that Cæsar during the short respite he enjoy'd, made it his application to encourage and reward them: by granting the freedom of the city, to all who were willing to settle at Rome and practise physic, and to all professors of the liberal arts.

'Twas also at this time he effected the regulation of the Calendar, which stood in great need of it. I have more than once had occasion to mention the irregularity of the Roman civil year in the time we are now treating of. The regulation establish'd by Numa, tho' far from being perfect, might yet have serv'd. But the Pontiffs, who by their office were to keep up this regulation, whether thro' ignorance, or thro' negligence, or perhaps sometimes to pay their court to people in power, or to oblige the monied men, had thrown every thing into confusion: So that the year, whose events I am now giving an account of, and which was the last of this confusion and disorder, consisted of 445 days. Besides the intercalary month of 23 three days, there was a necessity of adding 67 supernumerary days of the preceding years, to make the first of January in the ensuing year fall properly. The care of the Calendar belong'd to Cæsar as High Pon-

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

tiff; who, to assist him in its reformation, made use of Sosigenes, an Astronomer of Alexandria. Because the Greeks, thro' all antiquity, were the sole professors of Metaphysics, and the Romans had never had any insight into those matters but from the learn'd of that nation. 'Tis needless to observe, that the Calendar, as regulated by Cæsar, is the same we now make use, except that in order to bring it to its utmost perfection, it has been expedient to introduce some small alterations, which were made by the authority and order of Pope Gregory XIII.

The regulation of the Calendar necessarily made some confusion in the ancient order of days, both as to sacred and civil affairs; that is, as well with regard to the festivals, as in relation to the convening the Senate or people, the audiences of the Tribuns, and such like. Cæsar, who ever paid regard to customs establish'd by antiquity, employ'd a celebrated Register, nam'd Flavius, to adjust as near as possible, the new plan to the ancient system.

*Cæsar's
conduct
blameable,
in what.
Frien-
them.
CXV. 34.
35.*

All these different applications certainly redounded to the honour of a person who was the chief of an empire. But Cæsar took some other steps which betray'd the leader of a party. The necessity of making creatures, or of securing such as he had already made, compell'd him in many things to break thro' all rule. Such as increasing the number of offices, that he might have more places to give away. The reinstating, in the free enjoyment of their liberties, persons, who had either been stigmatised by the Censors, or, what was still worse, condemn'd by solemn process. But he was principally reflected on for having introduc'd
into

into the Senate a great number of unworthy members, who by the meanness of their birth and of their preceding employments, and even some by the crimes with which they were branded, dishonour'd that august assembly. Cæsar always made it a rule with him to reward such as had been of service to him. He explain'd * himself on this head without any reserve, and said, that if robbers and assassins had been assisting to him in the support of his right, or in the raising of his fortune, he thought himself oblig'd not to be ungrateful to them. Such principles may be carried very great lengths : and the subversion of all laws, decency and regard to morality must be the necessary consequence.

Cæsar even confer'd the dignity of Senator on aliens, and as Suetonius expresses it, on Gauls that were demi-barbarians. This was the subject of a joke, which that historian has thought it worth his while to relate. The following advertisements were stuck up in different parts of the city : “ ^a This is to give notice, that all persons are desir'd, not to shew any of the new Senators the way to the Senate-house.” Cæsar's facility in admitting all sorts of people into the Senate, increas'd the Senators to nine hundred, that is, a third more than their limited number. And this gave rise to a joke of Cicero, who being applied to by one of his friends for his interest to get his son-in-law made a Senator in one of the municipal

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Ant. C. 46.

Macrob.
Sat. II. 3.

* Professus est palam, si gratulatorum & ficariorum ope in tuenda sua dignitate usus esset, talibus quoque se parem

gratiam telaturum. *Suet. Cæs.* n. 71.

^a Bonum factum. Ne quis Senatori novo Curiam monstrare velit. *Suet. Cæs.* n. 80.

TOWNS.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

towns. "At Rome, says our Orator, the thing would be easy. At Pompeii (which was a little town in Campania) you will find it more difficult."

Cleopatra and her brother's voyage to Rome, this same year 706, and which I have already mention'd, occasion'd much talk, and did Cæsar great disservice.

*He consents
to Marcellus's re-
turn.*

But his clemency to Marcellus redounded greatly to his honour. 'Twill not be amiss to recollect what I have said elsewhere of this man, who was no less eminent on account of his birth, than for the rank he held in the Republic; whose conduct and courage were equally conspicuous, and whose soul was incapable of meanness or fear. He had during his Consulship opposed Cæsar, and openly declar'd his intention to ruin him. After the battle of Pharsalia, he retir'd as I have already related to Mitylenæ, where he seem'd resolv'd to pass quietly the remainder of his days, and to make the study of books and philosophy his whole employment. But the repeated instances of his brother C. Marcellus, and Cicero's earnest letters shook his resolution, and oblig'd him at last to consent, that application should be made to the Conqueror, for liberty for him to return to Rome.

Cic. ad
Fam. IV.

Accordingly one day when the Senate was assembled and the Dictator had taken his seat, Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, broke the affair and first mentioned Marcellus's return. Immediately the brother of this illustrious exile flung himself at Cæsar's feet; and the whole Senate at the same time rising from their seats seconded his request and entreated their Chief to restore them one of their most distinguish'd
and

and most valuable members. Cæsar at first assumed a severity, and complain'd of the resentment and animosity Marcellus had ever shown to him. But when nothing was expected but a denial, and success began to be despair'd of, he added, that whatever reasons he might have to be personally dissatisfied with the man whose repeal they sued for, he could not oppose the unanimous desire of the Senate.

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Ant. C. 46.

This was matter of great joy to Cicero. That day seem'd to him the first happy day for the Republic since the commencement of the civil wars : and in the fit of Enthusiasm which was then upon him, he deliver'd that excellent oration, so well known and so universally admired ; in which after celebrating all Cæsar's exploits, he prefers his clemency and generosity to the glory of all his triumphs.

Cicero's oration on this occasion.

This speech must be still the more agreeable to Cæsar, as till then Cicero had kept an obstinate sullen silence, which might have been easily interpreted a disapprobation of all the then measures. There were but too good grounds for this suspicion : and our Orator, who thought 'twas for his interest to remove such an opinion, was not sparing in the commendations he bestow'd on a person, whose secret resentment he had cause to apprehend. He had laid it down for a maxim, that a prudent man ought to comply with the times ; and in the Oration I am now speaking of, that principle carried him great lengths ; for he therein professes a personal affection for Cæsar, and a zeal

ⁱ Ita mihi pulcher hic dies visus est, ut speciem aliquam viderer videre quasi reviviscentis Reipublicæ. Cic. ad Fam. IV. 4.

A. R. 706. for the preservation of his days, and offers ^k to
 Ant. C. 46. interpose between him and any attempts that
 might be made to his prejudice : a language
 very different from the real sentiments of his
 heart, and absolutely contradicted by the exces-
 sive joy he instanced at the unhappy death of
 the oppressor of his country.

Unhappy
 death of
 Marcellus.
 Cic. ad
 Fam. IV.
 12. However Marcellus did not reap the benefit
 of Cæsar's kindness : for being on his return
 to Rome, he stopt at Athens, and was there
 assassinated by a wretch who had been a long
 time in his service, and who afterwards killed
 himself. What could induce him to this act,
 has never been discover'd. But Cicero has ta-
 ken care to clear Cæsar, from any imputations
 that might be thrown on him.

Cic. ad
 Attic.
 XIII. 10. Cæsar did yet another act of clemency, which
 has been the more taken notice of, on account
 of the part Cicero took in it. 'Twas in re-
 lation to Q. Ligarius, who after the battle of
 Thapsus had obtain'd a pardon for his life, but
 on condition of remaining in exile. His two
 brothers, who had taken Cæsar's party, seeing
 how easily he had been prevailed on to forgive
 Marcellus, conceived hopes to obtain in like
 manner the repeal of their brother's sentence.
 Accordingly they made application to the Dic-
 tator, and were seconded by Cicero, who was
 their friend. This is the account he sends Li-
 garius of the audience Cæsar gave him on this
 occasion. “ In the morning I waited on Cæsar,

^k Omnes tibi, ut pro aliis
 etiam loquar quod de me ip-
 so sentio, quoniam subesse
 aliquid putas quod caven-
 dum sit, non modò excubias

& custodias, sed etiam late-
 rum nostrorum oppositus &
 corporum pollicemur. Cic.
 pro Marc. n. 32.

“ at

“ at the instance of your brothers ; and after
 “ ¹ having dispensed with all the trouble and
 “ indignities to which one must be exposed to
 “ get at him, I was at length introduc’d. Your
 “ brothers and other relations flung themselves
 “ at his feet : and I address’d him in a manner
 “ suitable to the occasion. Cæsar’s answer
 “ was mild, but not decisive. But his very
 “ looks declar’d, as much as his words, that
 “ he is favourably disposed, and that you may
 “ hope for the best.”

A. R. 706.
 Ant. C. 46.

Such was the situation of this affair, when
 Tubero lodg’d a formal accusation against Li-
 garius. Nothing can be more extraordinary
 than the charge of this accusation. Tubero
 accuses Ligarius of having carried arms against
 Cæsar : and it was not only his own case, but
 he was exasperated against Ligarius for no o-
 ther reason, than because he pretended he had
 three years before prevented his going into A-
 frica, whither the Senate had deputed him to
 carry on the war against Cæsar. So that Liga-
 rius’s affair now appeared in a different light :
 from being only a business of supplication and
 entreaty, it now became a matter of law ; and
 from Cæsar’s closet was now remov’d to the
 Forum, and submitted to the determination of
 the bench. Cæsar however reserv’d to himself
 the right of deciding the affair, but in quality
 of Judge : and Cicero, who at first had only
 appeared on this occasion as soliciting for his
 friend, now became his advocate.

Cic. pro
 Lig.

Cicero’s speech at the trial is indisputably one
 of the finest monuments of the skill and insinu-

¹ Quum omnem adeundi nitatem & molestiam pertu-
 & conveniendi illius indig- lissem. Cic. ad Fam. VI. 14.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

ating address of that great Orator. He knew that Cæsar piqu'd himself on no virtue more than his clemency to his enemies. 'Twas there he made his attack. Not that he neglected making a proper use of the circumstances which appear'd most in Ligarius's favour, but he principally had recourse to Cæsar's generosity. "I have pleaded, said he to Cæsar, many
" causes, and some before you. But was ne-
" ver heard to make use of these expressions.
" *Forgive him, Gentlemen, he has committed a*
" *fault: 'twas thro' inadvertency: he will never*
" *do so again.* This is a language to be used
" to a father. But we say to the judges: *He*
" *is not guilty, he never so much as thought on't :*
" *the evidence is suborn'd, and the accusation false.*
" Do you, Cæsar, take upon you to be judge
" in this affair? Do you inquire in what camp
" he has served? To this I make no answer.
" Nor shall I dwell on several points, which
" perhaps would have some weight with a
" judge: such as that he quitted Rome before
" the war broke out; that he was left in Africa
" while the peace yet subsisted; that he was
" involv'd in a war when he least expected it;
" that even then, so far from shewing any a-
" nimosity, his whole heart and inclinations
" were for you. This is the usual manner of
" address-

Causas, Cæsar, egimul-
tas, & quidem tecum: certè
nunquam hoc modo, *Ignos-*
cite judices: erravit: lapsus
est: non putavit: si unquam
posibac. Ad parentem sic
agi solet. Ad judices, *Non*
fecit, non cogitavit: falsi tes-
tes, factum crimen. Dicte, Cæ-

sar, de facto Ligarii judi-
cem esse: quibus in præsi-
diis fuerit, quære. Taceo.
Ne hæc quidem colligo, quæ
fortasse valerent etiam apud
judicem. Legatus ante bel-
lum profectus, relictus in
pace, bello oppressus, in eo
ipso non acerbus, totus animo

&

“ addressing a judge. But to you I apply as A. R. 406.
 “ to a father : *I am to blame, I have acted incon-* Ant. C. 46.
 “ siderately, I rely on your goodness, and entreat your
 “ forgiveness. Had no body found favour before
 “ you, ’twould be presumption in me to sue for it ;
 “ but as there are many instances of your generosi-
 “ ty, let not those hopes, to which you yourself
 “ have given birth, be frustrated. And has not
 “ Ligarius all the reason in the world to hope
 “ for pardon, when I myself, thro’ your indul-
 “ gence, have the liberty of entreating for an-
 “ other ?”

The remarkable stroke of eloquence which follows what I have just now quoted, is universally known and admired; wherein Cicero with infinite art, puts Cæsar in mind of the services done him by one of Ligarius’s brothers. “ You must remember, says he to him, you
 “ who can forget nothing but injuries, you
 “ must certainly remember what proof T. Li-
 “ garius gave, when he was Questor, of his
 “ attachment and zeal for your Interest.” This was attacking Cæsar by his blind side, if I may use such an expression, in speaking of a generous inclination to pardon.

Nor indeed could he resist the soft persuasion which flowed from the Orator’s lips. He Cæsar pardons him.
 came, if we may believe Plutarch, with a Plut. Cic.
 firm resolution to continue inflexible ; because

<p>& studio tuus. Ad judicem sic agi solet. Sed ego ad parentem loquor : <i>Erravi, temere feci, pœnitel : ad clementiam tuam confugio : delicti veniam peto : ut ignoscas, oro. Si nemo impetravit, arroganter : si plurimi, tu idem</i></p>	<p><i>fer opem, qui spem dedisti. An sperandi Ligario causa non sit, quum mihi apud te sit locus etiam pro altero deprecandi ? Cic. pro Lig. 30. 31.</i> <small>n</small> Qui oblivisci nihil soles, nisi injurias. n. 36.</p>
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A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

he looked upon Ligarius as an irreconcilable enemy. And therein he was not mistaken, for this very Ligarius shortly after entered into the conspiracy against him. So that it was mere curiosity which had drawn Cæsar to the bench; as he had not heard Cicero plead for several years. But he was not his own master. He was several times seen to change colour: whatever passions the Orator had a mind to inspire him with, were successively expressed in his countenance; and when towards the conclusion Cicero described the dangers of the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar shuddered and trembled from head to foot, and let fall the minutes of the trial out of his hand. In short Ligarius was pardoned, and had leave to return to Rome.

*Cicero's
compelled
leisure. He
employs it
in the com-
position of
several
works.*

This event may, if I judge right, be considered, as a master-piece of eloquence. It is no such difficult task to influence a mob, nor does it require any extraordinary extent of genius. But by mere dint of persuasion, to soften and change the passions of a man like Cæsar, is what Cicero alone was capable of.

The two affairs of Marcellus and Ligarius were the only public acts which that year employed Cicero's talents. His other occupations were in composing different tracts in philosophy and rhetoric. Since his return to Rome, he had had no other consolation than literature: being thoroughly dissatisfied with whatever he saw, or heard. Besides the public events, which touched him sensibly; his own private situation was none of the most agreeable. By the change of government he had lost that eclat, that consideration, that rank and authority attendant on one of the Chiefs of the Roman
man

man Senate. He had very little influence with the Regent, who though he sometimes suffered himself to be prevailed on by intreaties, was not of a temper to allow any one to have much ascendant over him. Not only Cicero, who had been an enemy of long standing, but those ° who had always been in his interest, were not of Cæsar's council. He was himself his only Counsellor.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

Cicero, in this state of inactivity and leisure, which only served to give a greater scope to his afflictions, had never been able to ^P survive, without the assistance of books. He ever took delight in them; but now they became not only his consolation, but his physic, and it was to them he owed his health ^q. It was at this time he composed most of his philosophical works. Besides the relief an employment of this kind gave him, he reckoned he was acquitting himself as far as he was able of the duties of a citizen. “ Since we can’t
“ no longer serve the Republic in the Senate
“ and in the Forum, at least let us serve it by
“ composing such works as may conduce to
“ the formation of manners, and be instructive to our countrymen.” This was a view worthy of Cicero.

Cic. Acad.
I. 11.

At length business, time, reflection and necessity got the better of his grief. After hav-

*His concern
for the present
situation of
affairs abates.*

° Is utitur consilio, ne suorum quidem, sed suo. Cic. ad Fam. IV. 9.

^P Vivas, inquis, in literis. An quidquam me aliud agere censes? aut possem vivere, nisi in litteris viverem. Cic. ad Fam. IX. 26.

^q A studiis antea delectationem modò petebamus, nunc verò etiam salutem. Cic. IX. 2.

^r Si minùs in Curia atque in Foro, at in litteris & libris, juvare Rempublicam. *Id. ibid.*

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

ing bewailed * his country longer and with deeper concern than ever fond mother wept the loss of her only child, he took comfort. He even assumed a kind of gaiety, and sometimes in his letters makes merry with his situation.

One of his friends, a man of sense and erudition, had reproached him for not residing at Rome. “ You are ’ not then sensible, says “ Cicero, in answer to him, of the difference “ between my present and former situation. “ I was then at the helm and directed the “ steerage, at present I can scarce find place “ in the hold. Do you imagine that there “ will be fewer decrees of the Senate, because “ I am at Naples? The Senate’s decrees are “ drawn up in Cæsar’s closet: and if my “ name happens to occur to his memory, it is “ subscribed to the decree; and I often hear “ of a decree of the Senate, said to be framed “ on my advice, being sent into Armenia and “ Syria, before I know a single word of the “ business it relates to. Do not think I am

* Patriam eluxi jam & gravius & diutius quam ulla mater unicum filium. *Cic. ad Fam. IX. 20.*

‘ Quid simile? . . . Sedebamus enim in puppi, & clavum tenebamus. Nunc autem vix est in sentina locus. An minus multa Senatusconsulta futura putas, si ego sim Neapoli? . . . Senatusconsulta scribuntur apud amatorem tuum, familiarem meum. Et quidem, quum in mentem venit, ponor ad scribendum: & antè audio

Senatusconsultum in Armeniam & Syriam esse perlatum, quod in meam sententiam factum esse dicatur, quàm omnino mentionem ullam de eâ re esse factam. Atque hoc nolim me joculari putes. Nam mihi scito jam à regibus ultimis allatas esse litteras, quibus mihi gratias agunt, quòd se meâ sententiâ reges appellaverim: quos non modò reges appellatos, sed omnino natos nesciebam. *Cic. ad Fam. IX. 15.*

“ joking. I have received letters of thanks
 “ from very distant Kings, for my having
 “ consented to their being acknowledged by
 “ the Senate Kings, friends and allies of the
 “ Empire, when I not only was ignorant of
 “ the honour conferred on them, but even
 “ that such persons ever existed.”

A. R. 706.
 Ant. C. 46.

Cicero judged perfectly right in his behaviour. He carefully avoided giving Cæsar any offence, whose goodness and moderation he highly extols even in his private letters. As for Cæsar’s principal friends, Hirtius, Dolabella, Pansa, Oppius and Balbus, he was upon extreme good terms with them. Particularly the two first, who were men of sense and merit, and stood fair to be shortly at the head of affairs, studied eloquence under him: this formed a constant familiarity and friendship between them equally advantageous, and agreeable to Cicero.

His political conduct with regard to Cæsar. He gains the affection of Cæsar’s friends. Cic. ad Fam. IX. 16, 17. & IV. 4.

He makes merry on this occasion with his usual ingenuity. “ I imitate”, says he, Dionysius the tyrant, who, being drove from Syracuse, opened a school at Corinth. So I, to whose determination and judgment people were wont to submit their own, now that power is lost, as all depends on the will of one person, I keep a school of Rhetoric.”

His disciples in eloquence were his masters in

“ Intellexi probant tibi meum consilium, quod, ut Dionysius tyrannus, quum Syracusis expulsus esset, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuisse, sic ego, sublati judicii, amisso regno forensi, ludum

quasi habere coeperim. Cic. ad Fam. IX. 18.

“ Hirtium ego & Dolbellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cœnandi magistros. Id. ibid. 16.

A. R. -c6.
Ann. C. 46.

good cheer, as he has taken care to inform us, and frequently invited him to supper: on which occasion he banters very agreeably: “One ^x of the advantages, says he, arising from the lessons I give our Conquerors, is that I partake of their voluptuous tables. Since then I have had my share of more peacocks, than you have eat pigeons. So that those encomiums are no longer applicable to me which you were formerly pleased to bestow on me: such as, how contented is that man with his diet! what an easy guest he is! I have entirely laid aside my application to public affairs, and my concern for my fellow-citizens. I am no longer anxious to prepare a speech for the Senate, nor employed in studying causes. I have deserted that severity of morals I formerly affected, and am come over to Epicurus’s camp, with whom I formerly waged war.” This whole passage is so much the more witty, as the person, to whom Cicero writes, was an Epicurean.

Panegyric
on Cato
composed by
Cicero.
Cæsar’s
Antica-
tions
C. c. d
Ann. XII.

Cicero’s friendship and familiarity with the Conquerors, and his necessary dependance on Cæsar, were not sufficient motives to dissuade him from composing about this time his famous panegyric on Cato. Not but that he was sensible of the difficulty of such an undertaking in his present situation. However he

4.

^x Extremum illud est, quod tu nescio an primum putes: plures jam pavones confeci, quàm tu pullos columbinos. . . Illa mea, quæ solebat antea laudare, o hominem facilem! o hospitem non gravem! abierunt. Nam

omnem nostram de Republica curam, cogitationem de dicenda in Senatu sententia, commentationem causarum, abjecimus. In Epicuri nos adversarii nostri castra coniecimus. *Id. ibid.* 18, 20.

went

went resolutely through it: and if we may guess at the work by the kind of plan he has given us of it in one of his letters to Atticus, he not only generally extolled his hero's fortitude and constancy, but he cut to the quick, and celebrated him for having long foreseen the evils the Republic then felt, for his endeavours to avert them, and for having preferred death rather than be a living witness of the ensuing calamities.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

Without doubt a work of this kind could not be very pleasing to Cæsar. However he shewed no marks of his displeasure: but contented himself with answering it by two tracts, which he intitled (as I have already said) *Anticatones*, opposing according to the expression ^y of Cremutius Cordus, in Tacitus, pleading to pleading.

In these two pieces Cæsar by no means spared Cato. But Cicero was therein honourably treated, and compared to Pericles and Theramenes, two of the most illustrious persons that ever appeared in the Athenian Republic, great Orators and excellent Statesmen.

Cicero's work still further deserved Cæsar's commendations on account of its stile and eloquence, and as Brutus has also composed a panegyric on Cato, Cæsar upon comparing these two pieces, said in a letter to one of his friends, that having ^z several times read over Cicero's treatise, he thought he had acquired a

^y M. Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem cœlo æquavit, quid aliud Dictator Cæsar, quàm rescriptâ oratione velut apud judices respondit. *Tac. Ann. IV. 34.*

^z Legi epistolam: multa de meo Catone, quo læpissime legendo se dicit copiosorem factum: Bruti Catone lecto, se sibi visum disertum, *Cic. ad Att. XIII. 46.*

A. R. 705.
Ann. C. 46. greater richness and more variety of expression: but in reading Brutus's, his own vanity was flattered, and he thought he himself was eloquent

Cicero's grief for the death of his daughter Tullia.
Cic. ad Fam. IV. 5, 6. ad Att. XII.

The little I have said of Cicero will, I imagine, suffice to shew in what manner he employed himself from his obtaining his pardon to the time of Cæsar's death. If in the progress of this work any thing further should occur worthy of note, I shall take care to make a proper use of it. I shall only previously take notice, that the death of his favourite daughter Tullia, which happened the following year, flung him into the deepest affliction; which he carried to an excess, scarce becoming so great a genius. Doubtless such misfortunes are difficult to be born, and none but souls incapable of humanity can be insensible on the like occasions. But a savage melancholy and avoiding all society, but more particularly the ridiculous design of deifying his daughter and erecting a temple to her, may perhaps be excused in a common man, but are unpardonable in Cicero.



B O O K XLVII.

CÆSAR's war in Spain against Pompey's children. The conspiracy against Cæsar. His death. Anthony's artful conduct to make an advantage of this death. Ann. R. 707, 708.

§. I.

The troubles in Spain prove favourable to young Pompey. Cæsar comes into Spain. He composes a small poem during the voyage. Obliges Pompey to raise the siege of Ullia. Besieges and takes Ategua. Reciprocal cruelties. Battle of Munda. Death of Cn. Pompeius. Sextus Pompeius saves himself among the mountains of Celtiberia. Total reduction of Bætica. Voluntary death of Scapula. Cæsar's distribution of rewards and punishments in Spain. Young Octavius is serviceable to several with his uncle. Cæsar takes all occasions to shew him in public. Cæsar's triumph, and the citizens discontent on that account. Cæsar spoiled by the Senate's flattery. He is declared Imperator, perpetual Dictator, &c. Extraordinary honours conferred on him. The privilege of constantly wearing a crown of laurel gives him singular satisfaction. The reason Cæsar appoints Fabius and Trebonius Consuls for the three remaining months. Caninius consul for seventeen hours. Cicero's witticisms on that occasion. Cæsar arbitrarily

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

bitrarily disposes of all offices and employments. New Patricians. Consular ornaments granted to ten who had passed the Pretorian dignity. Cæsar appointed Consul for the fifth time and Anthony his Collegue. Nomination of other Magistrates. Cæsar prepares to make war against the Partbians. He forms several schemes, all equally grand and magnificent.

The troubles in Spain prove favourable to young Pompey.

DURING Cæsar's stay at Rome, young Pompey's forces had considerably increased in Spain, and began to give the Conqueror some uneasiness. Cn. Pompeius had a great many friends in that Province, who had for a long time been attached to his family : but perhaps they had never dared declare themselves, had not the ill conduct of the person appointed by Cæsar to command in Ulterior Spain, furnished them with an opportunity. For the better comprehending of this, it will not be improper to enter into some preceding transactions.

Hirt. de
B. Alex.
n. 48. &
Dio. l.
XLII.

When Cæsar in the first year of the civil war, had subdued Spain, he appointed Q. Cassius Longinus Governor of Lusitania and Bætica, who, having been Questor there under Pompey, was well acquainted with the country. Longinus wanted neither for enterprise nor courage : but his violence, passion, injustice and avarice during his Questorship had made him so detestable, that in a conspiracy formed against him, he had once been actually wounded. These reciprocal outrages created reciprocal resentment.

Now therefore that he was invested with the supreme command, he endeavoured by ingratiating himself with the troops to gain their protection against the natives resentment. He
made

made very handsome presents to the soldiers, and promised them much more, which to be sure did not fail gaining their hearts. But the greater progress he made by this means in their esteem, the wider breach he made in discipline. Besides he had not a sufficient fund to defray these acts of liberality. This put him upon all kinds of methods to supply that defect: he taxed heavily all that were contented to be taxed, extorted from others, and attainted the rich, whose money was the only means to bring them off: and under the specious pretence of paying the troops, converted the greatest part of the sums he raised to his own use. In a word, his avarice was unlimited, and he refrained from no kind of excess, if any thing was to be got by it.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

It is easy to be imagined that such a conduct strengthened and increased the aversion the people had for a long time conceived to him: to which the behaviour of the very persons he employed to put these oppressions in force, not a little contributed. People of that sort, who are void of probity and generosity, are incapable of gratitude. Whatever advantages they made were ascribed to their industry, and wherever they failed they laid the fault on their Commander.

This general aversion soon produced a second conspiracy against Longinus, which broke out just about the time that, pursuant to Cæsar's orders, he was setting out for Mauritania, in order to prevent Juba's sending any further succours to Pompey, in Greece, and to chastise him for those which he had already sent.

The conspirators were all of Italica *, a city in Bætica founded by the elder Scipio, who

* Hodie
Sevilla la
veia.

when

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

when he left Spain had there lodged all his sick and wounded soldiers. Longinus was set upon in open day, and received several wounds. But as none of them proved mortal, he had the satisfaction of taking his revenge on his enemies by the tortures and cruel deaths he put them to : not but that there were even then some, whose money atoned for their crime. For as he was more covetous than cruel, whatever satisfaction he might have in indulging his revenge, he was still more affected by the prospect of gain.

The conspirators had engaged in their party those two legions, which had formerly been under the command of Varro, Pompey's Lieutenant, and being afterwards compelled to submit to Cæsar, had remained in that province under Longinus. Their hatred to him had revived their former affection to Pompey, and notwithstanding they had just received in Spain an account of their Chief's defeat at Pharsalia, they declared publickly for him, chose themselves a distinct Commander, who gave out that he intended to recover the province for Pompey ; and the soldiers engraved Pompey's name on their bucklers. Three legions continued with Longinus, not through any regard to him, but on account of their attachment to Cæsar. The city of Cordova, in which a great many Romans were settled, formed a third party in this quarrel, and would not abandon Cæsar's interest, though at the same time they detested Longinus.

The consequences of so violent a commotion might have prov'd fatal to the province, and been the means of Cæsar's losing it ; had not the Questor Marcellus Efernius brought about

a coalition of parties and united all Longinus's enemies, under Cæsar's name and authority. A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

Some short time after Lepidus, who was Proconsul of Citerior Spain, came into Bætica with a considerable force. Marcellus readily consented to his arbitration ; and Longinus, after various ineffectual shifts and oppositions, thought proper to submit, the rather, as at this time Trebonius came from Rome to take upon him the government of Ulterior Spain, in quality of Proconsul. Whereupon Longinus determin'd to quit the country, and having put to sea, was lost in a storm near the mouth of the river Iber. By this means Spain recover'd its former tranquillity.

But as popular fury does not easily subside, this calm was but of short duration. Besides the apprehension of Cæsar's resentment gave no small disquiet to many who were conscious of having offended. They were therefore very well pleased when they heard that Metellus Scipio had assembled a powerful force in Africa ; and immediately sent a deputation to him to render their service and demand his protection : in consequence of which procedure, Pompey's eldest son set out for Spain : but being taken ill at the Balearian islands, the disaffected never staid for his arrival, but found means to persuade the troops and a part of the province to revolt, and were more than a match for Trebonius, whose force was not sufficient to oppose them. T. Scapula and Q. Aponius, two Roman Knights, took upon them the command of the legions till such time as young Pompey could come and put himself at their head. Dio. l.
XLIII.

He had no sooner recover'd his health than
he

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

he join'd them : his name, his affability (which, notwithstanding his natural austerity he at that time assum'd) his success at first setting out, and a proper application of some sums of money, which had been raised by a military contribution on some of the opposite party, all these several circumstances contributed to the establishment of his party, and he soon found himself master of almost all Spain. In order to augment his troops, he did not hesitate to enlist as many slaves as would voluntarily enter, whom he immediately presented with their freedom : by this means he presently assembled an army consisting of thirteen legions. After Metellus Scipio's defeat Cn. Pompeius found means to collect some of his forces ; which with the fleet brought him by his brother Sextus, in conjunction with Labienus and Varus, soon put him in a condition to oppose Cæsar's Lieutenants, either by land or sea. Neither could Didius, whom I have already mention'd to have been detach'd by Cæsar with a part of his fleet, nor Q. Fabius and Q. Pædius, who commanded his legions, attempt any thing towards the reduction of an enemy who was now become too powerful for them : They, and as many of the inhabitants, as yet preserv'd their allegiance to Cæsar, join'd in their application to that General to come to their assistance ; representing to him that the danger was now become worthy his attention, and that his presence was absolutely necessary to save the province.

C. JULIUS

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.C. JULIUS CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Cæsar therefore set out from Rome about the end of the year of his third Dictatorship. I can find nowhere any account of what number of troops he took with him into Spain. However he did not march with them ; but according to his usual custom preceded them, and with so much dispatch, that in twenty seven days he came from Rome to Obulco in Bætica near Cordova. And as during the voyage he found himself disengaged, in order to give himself some employment, he composed in the passage a little poem containing a description of his voyage. That active, restless genius would have destroy'd itself, if at the intervals of state affairs, it had not had recourse to letters. 'Twas during these short intervals that he wrote all his works which are now extant, and many others that have been lost.

Cæsar comes into Spain. He composes a small poem during the voyage.
Auct. de B. Hisp.
Appian. Civil. l. II.
Dio. l. XLIV.
Suet. Cæs. 56.

Cæsar's friends were no less surpris'd at his dispatch, than his enemies ; especially as they all on a sudden saw him in the midst of them, when they imagin'd he could not possibly be near them. Nevertheless as it was known in Spain that he intended shortly to set out, Pompey had taken the precaution to shut himself up in Bætica, and had given up the rest of Spain, being convinced that his whole united force would be but barely sufficient to defend him against an adversary of such importance. All Bætica was under Pompey's obedience, the city of Ulia excepted. Pompey undertook to reduce it by force, and was actually engag'd in besieging it, at the time Cæsar came into the country.

Obliges Pompey to raise the siege of Ulia.

Tho'

A. R. 706.
AUL. C. 46.

Tho' the high idea Pompey's son had of the Conqueror of his father made him judge it necessary to take some precautions, yet it was far from intimidating him. He did not think there could be such a difference between man and man, as that one might not hope for success as well as another. So that notwithstanding Cæsar's arrival he push'd on the siege with courage and resolution. But the success did not answer his expectations: and he was soon made sensible of his enemy's superiority. Cæsar found means to introduce some succours into the town, and at the same time advanced towards Cordova, as if he intended to attack that capital of all the province. Sex. Pompeius, who commanded there, was under terrible apprehensions, and applied to his brother for succours, who now found himself oblig'd to raise the siege of Ulia.

Cæsar's scheme was to determine the affair by a decisive battle. Accordingly he march'd up to the enemy, as they were posted under the walls of Cordova, and being obstructed in his rout by the river Bætis or Guadalquivir, as there was no possibility of fording it, he found means to pass it, by the help of an extempore bridge, composed of baskets filled with stones which he let down into the water, and covered over in the most expeditious manner he could. As soon as he came in sight of young Pompey, he used all his endeavours to draw him to a general engagement: but the latter declined it, and contented himself with slight skirmishes, which were of no great service to either side. Whereupon Cæsar, who was not used to trifle away his time at that rate, went and laid siege to

to Ategua, the strongest fortress which Pompey then had.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR IV.

I shall not be very particular as to the operations of this siege, which are ill enough described by the author of the memoirs of the Spanish war, whose stile is not only stiff and unpleasant, but so barbarous, that he appears no better than a collector of Gazettes. I shall only observe that the enterprise was attended with great difficulty, from the strength of the place, the rigour of the season (for 'twas then the depth of winter) and the neighbourhood of a powerful army, ready to fling in succours on every occasion. Cæsar surmounted all these obstacles, and the city surrendered the 19th of February.

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.
*Besieges
and takes
Ategua.*

He had been sooner master of the place, had he been disposed to comply with the terms offered him by the inhabitants, which were to let the garrison march out unmolested. But he answer'd them haughtily, “that Cæsar was used to prescribe conditions, not to receive them.” This answer, which cut the garrison off of all hopes, determined them to make a more obstinate resistance. But at length all the fortifications of the city being destroyed, and the garrison and inhabitants disagreeing, the latter opened their gates upon no other condition than the security of their lives. As for the garrison, we have no account in what manner it was treated.

'Tis to be supposed that they were treated with severity enough if we may judge by the

*Reciprocal
cruelties.*

* Se conditiones dare, non accipere, consuevisse. *De B. Hisp. n. 14.*

cruelty

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.

cruelty with which the two parties carried on the war. The commander of the garrison of Ategua had caused a great number of the inhabitants, whom he suspected to favour Cæsar, to have their throats cut, and be flung over the city walls. After the taking of Ategua, seventy four citizens of an adjacent town were beheaded by Pompey's order for the like crime. And Cæsar's soldiers, for their parts, gave no quarter to any of the contrary party, who had the misfortune to fall in their hands. Such are the horrid effects of civil wars, which are always carried on with greater cruelty than any other.

*Battle of
Munda.*

Cæsar, since his coming into Bætica, had raised one siege, and taken a place of considerable strength in the very face of the enemy. These were no inconsiderable advantages : but yet there wanted a general engagement, as the only means to put an end to the war. Wherefore as soon as he was master of Ategua, he stuck close to young Pompey ; who to encourage his party, gave out that Cæsar was afraid to expose himself in an open country, at the same time that he himself took care to keep on the eminencies to prevent his being attacked. He only detach'd some parties of cavalry, which drew on some small engagements, in which he sometimes gain'd success, but as often was worsted. At length the two armies by frequently shifting their ground in order to harass each other came near * Munda, a place

* This city still retains its name, except that it is now wrote Monda. It is situate in the kingdom of Granada, not far from Malaga, near the little river Guadalmedina.

become

become famous in history by young Pompey's ruin, and for terminating Cæsar's victories.

A. R. 706.
Ant. C. 46.

On the 27th of March, Cæsar, who was preparing to decamp, having receiv'd advice by his scouts that the enemy had been drawn up in order of battle ever since midnight, resolv'd to attack them, and make use of an opportunity he had long wish'd for. Pompey's design was to come to action, apprehending that by continually retiring, he might fling a slur on his arms, and be despised and forsaken by his partisans. But he had chosen an advantageous post, near the city of Munda, which secur'd his retreat, and on an eminence, defended on one side by an almost impracticable morass. However these difficulties were no impediment to Cæsar, who at first drew up his troops in the plain, leaving a sufficient space, in case the enemy had a mind to come down and attack him: but perceiving that they did not design to quit their post, he march'd up to them, giving the word *Venus* for the parole of the day, a name he frequently made choice of on the like occasions. The parole Pompey gave out, was *Pietas*, alluding to his intention of avenging that day his father's death.

The battle was obstinate. Pompey had not only the advantage of ground, but the superiority in numbers, having thirteen legions to Cæsar's eight. And the persons who composed these legions were so circumstanced as to be in a manner under a necessity of fighting desperately; being either soldiers who had before serv'd under Afranius and Varro, and had paid no regard to the pardon Cæsar had granted them, consequently had no hopes of further favour; or slaves set at liberty, who, if they

Q

should

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.

Flor. IV.
2.

should happen to be taken prisoners, had nothing to expect but an ignominious punishment, or at least a rigorous servitude. As for Cæsar's troops, their former glory, the presence and esteem of their ever fortunate General, a resentment of having no respite in engaging a party, which tho' it had been so often defeated, still continued formidable, all these reflections were strong incentives to their behaving gallantly. However there were some, doubtless among the new levies, whose hearts were not exempt from fear, when the moment approached which was to decide their fate. Nor is it to be wondered at, if what Florus says is true, that Cæsar himself appeared more than ordinary serious. Perhaps he might not be thoroughly recovered from his distemper of which he had had several severe fits since he came into Spain.

However 'tis certain that at first the battle went against him, and that victory seem'd to declare for his enemies. Not only his new raised troops, but his veterans, after fourteen years constant success, gave ground : and if they did not absolutely run away, 'twas more owing to their sense of shame, than to their courage.

This ill success made Cæsar almost desperate : he rallied his soldiers with what expedition he could, and endeavour'd to animate them sometimes by entreaties, sometimes by reproaches. "What ! says he to them, are you going to give up your General, who is grown grey under your laurels, to a parcel of boys?" Doubtless the danger must be very great, and there were very little hopes of recovering the day, if we may believe, on the testimony of

Suetonius and Florus, that Cæsar was in doubt whether he should not kill himself. He certainly exposed himself very much : and thinking that in so great an exigence, he could not do too much, he quitted his horse, took a buckler and advanc'd within ten foot of the enemy. His example and the apparent hazard he run, reviv'd his soldiers courage. The tenth legion, that corps so often celebrated for its heroism, and which tho' it was greatly reduc'd in number, was worth a whole army, particularly distinguish'd itself. Yet the battle, which had lasted almost the whole day, still continued doubtful, 'till Labienus by an injudicious, or at least unfortunate motion, decided the affair.

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.
Suet. Cæf.
36. Flor.
IV. 2.

Cæsar had among his auxiliaries some light troops come from Mauritania and commanded by Bogud King of part of that country. That Prince, during the heat of the action, took it into his head to go and attack the enemies camp, which he imagin'd to find defenceless. Labienus perceiving his motion, detach'd five cohorts, which immediately quitted the field of battle in order to intercept the Moors and to save the camp. Cæsar either thought they were running away, or made believe so. He cried aloud that the enemy was making off : and this false opinion spreading itself instantly among the two armies increased the courage of the one, in proportion as it terrified the other : Cæsar's troops, especially the tenth legion, took this opportunity to press the enemies, whose ranks began to be in some confusion. In a short time those who at first were only a little disorder'd, were entirely broke, and did

A. R. 707. not perceive their error 'till it was without re-
 A.D. C. 45. medy.

Never was victory more compleat. Thirty thousand were killed on Pompey's side, amongst whom were Labienus and Varus, to whom Cæsar paid the customary funeral honours, and three thousand Roman Knights. All the legionary eagles were taken, as likewise the major part of the colours, and the fasces which were carried before the General; and seventeen principal officers were made prisoners. The Conqueror lost a thousand of his bravest soldiers, and had five hundred wounded. This battle, which closed the civil war, was fought the same day, that four years before Pompey the Great set out from Brundisium to go into Greece. 'Twas plain that the combat was obstinate; and Cæsar has himself acknowledged how great risk he run, by declaring that on all other occasions he had fought for victory, but at Munda for his own personal safety.

The remains of the defeated party saved themselves, some in their camp and others in the city of Munda. The camp was soon forc'd: but it was no such easy matter to take the city, which was in a condition to maintain a siege. The conquerors that very day invested it: But as they had not time to open the trenches in form, they form'd a kind of line of circumvallation round the town of the carcases of the enemy, which they heaped up, and fastened to one another by transfixing them with their swords and pikes: they also took care to turn the faces towards the besieged, in order to inspire them with terror, at the same time that they in this manner erected barbarous trophies

of their victory. This siege lasted a month, A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 47. and concluded with the death of almost the whole garrison.

The unhappy Chief of this routed army did Cn. Pom- not long survive his defeat. He tried all me- pey's death. thods to save himself and a few troops and ships he had got together, but was constantly unfortunate. He was attacked and beaten by a party of the enemy, which had been detach'd in pursuit of him, and having the misfortune to be wounded in the shoulder and left leg, and to dislocate his heel, he could neither mount on horseback, nor bear the motion of a litter, but was obliged to conceal himself in an obscure cavern. However he was soon discovered by the enemy, who cut off his head and brought it to Cæsar on the 12th of April. As it was of consequence that his death should be made as public as possible, his head was for some time exposed to public view, by the Conqueror's order, and afterwards interred.

Sextus Pompeius, the only remaining hopes Sex. Pom- of his family, for the present escap'd the im- peius saves pending danger. He happened to be at Cor- himself a- dova during the battle of Munda, and was no mong the sooner informed of its ill success, than he quit- mountains ted the country, and went and concealed him- of Celtibe- self in the mountains of Celtiberia; where ria. tho' he found means to escape all inquiry, yet he was drove to the necessity of plundering the country for his subsistence. However we shall find that after Cæsar's death he resumed his rank and made no inconsiderable figure. By Total res- the victory of Munda all Bætica shortly fell duction of into Cæsar's hands. And tho' the remains of Bætica. Pompey's party made several attempts, and endeavour'd to form an opposition at Cordova,

A. R. 707. * Hispalis, and several other places, yet they
 Ant. C. 45. were no more than the last struggles of a dying
 * Sevil. party. They were presently reduced to the necessity of submitting to the Conqueror's jurisdiction: and Cæsar had nothing further to do than to regulate the affairs of the province and make a distribution of rewards and punishments.

*Voluntary
 death of
 Scapula.*

Scapula, who had principally contributed to the insurrection of the province, hoped by a voluntary death to acquire immortal reputation. For which purpose he pursued the method of those false Braves, who thought by an affectation of courage to gain extraordinary commendations, when in reality they only thereby concealed their despair and want of resolution. He had retir'd from the field of battle to Cordova. There he assembled all his household, ordered a funeral pile to be erected, and a magnificent supper to be got ready; he likewise gave directions that the hall and beds where they were to eat should be ornamented, and the buffet set out in all its lustre: and after having distributed his money and plate among his family, he sat down early to supper, as to an entertainment; nor did he forget the perfumes, which, every one knows, the Romans were very fond of. At the conclusion of the festival, having given in charge to one of his freed-men to set fire to the pile, he ordered one of his slaves to put him to death, which was accordingly executed.

*Cæsar's
 distribution
 of rewards
 and punishments
 in
 Spain.*

Cæsar, having conven'd at Hispalis the deputies of the several towns and districts, which had favour'd the younger Pompey's party, made them, in a long harangue on that occasion, all the reproaches, which a superiority of fortune

fortune impowers victors to throw on such .as A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45. they have in their power. But he took no other vengeance than by pecuniary fines, and a heavy imposition of taxes, in the same manner as he had done in Africa. As his natural clemency induced him to avoid an effusion of blood, so his innate avidity, supported by the necessity of the times, prompted him to the greatest extortions. He plundered the very temples, particularly that of Hercules at Cadiz, whose treasures, and all the rich oblations, he seiz'd for his own use. Dio relates that he made even those, whom he rewarded, pay for the freedom of Rome, and other privileges and favours which they found means to obtain. But as he punished the guilty no otherwise than in their purse, I can hardly persuade myself that he sold his favours to those, whose conduct he had reason to approve.

His nephew the young Octavius, who then Young Oc-
tavius is
serviceable
to several
with his
uncle. commenced his nineteenth year, and for whom he had a very great regard, was remarkably serviceable on this occasion to several, who either implored the Dictator's clemency, or solicited any honours or rewards. The Saguntines were particularly obliged to him for his Nic. Da-
masc. de
instit.
Aug. intercession, and protection; who, tho' they were charg'd with very heavy accusations, found means, thro' his interest, to obtain their pardon from Cæsar.

In this manner this young man began to Cæsar
takes all
occasions to
shew him
in public. make himself known, and to answer his uncle's expectations. For as Cæsar had no children, and the promising genius of his nephew, who discover'd on all occasions a great superiority of talents, had made him take the resolution of adopting him, he for some time had made

A. R. 777.
A.D. C. 45.

Suet. Aug.
c. 8.

it his endeavours to improve him, and to introduce him to the world whenever opportunity offered. For this purpose he had invested him with the Priesthood, vacant by the death of L. Domitius, slain at the battle of Pharsalia. And in his triumph, he made him march on horseback by his side, adorn'd with spoils and other marks of honours, tho' his age and extraordinary delicacy of constitution had not permitted him to serve. In the festivals which succeeded his triumphs, he appointed him Supervisor and Director of the public shews which were exhibited in the Grecian taste and language. Lastly, when he set out for the Spanish war, his design was to have taken him with him. But a violent fit of sickness confin'd Octavius for a long time at Rome, so that he was not able to join his uncle till after the battle of Munda. 'Twas in the amiable light, I have just described, that he appeared in Spain; and it had been happy for him if he had always preserved the same mild sentiments of humanity, which he first set out with.

Cæsar, after having settled affairs in Spain, return'd to Rome in the month of October, having compos'd, in the midst of the tumult of arms and the no less embarrassing concerns of the cabinet, and of frequent audiences, his two Anticatones, which I have before mentioned.

*Cæsar's
triumph
and the Ci-
tizens dis-
content on
that ac-
count.*

Flut. Cæs.

On his return to Rome, he gave orders for his triumph; whereat every body was much offended. Without doubt by triumphing, not because he had subdued some barbarous nations or foreign Princes, but for having ruined without resource the most illustrious family in Rome, he manifestly insulted the misfortunes of his country:

country : 'Twas exulting at an event, which, as Plutarch observes, could not be justified before gods or men, but thro' the necessity of its being so. However Cæsar was desirous, or at least consented, that this scene, which so tenderly affected his fellow-citizens, should be twice repeated, by the triumphs he decreed Q. Fabius and Q. Pedius, his Lieutenants General in Spain. And herein he committed another irregularity, because by law a triumph could be only allowed to those who had the chief command, and not to a person who had been delegated by another.

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.

Dio.

He could not but perceive the general dissatisfaction his procedure had occasioned : for notwithstanding the magnificence of his triumph, and of the feasts which succeeded it, the people discover'd not the least emotion of joy : and they actually made a jest of the fordid thriftiness with which his Lieutenants triumphs were conducted. For the several representations of the captive cities being on that occasion in wood, whereas those which had been exhibited in Cæsar's triumph were either of silver or ivory, 'twas given out that the cities of these latter triumphs were only the cases of those exhibited in Cæsar's.

However herein the Senate was more blameable than Cæsar, and it was their flatteries which spoilt him. He himself had been so far from assuming any merit from the victory of Munda, that he had even neglected sending any advice of it to Rome. But it was no sooner known there, by public report, and by private letters, than the Senate, instead of imitating the Conqueror's prudent moderation, instanced the most excessive and unlimited joy, and

*Cæsar
spoilt by the
Senate's
flattery.
Plut. Dio.*

A. R. 709.
AEL. C. 45.

and ordered public thanksgivings to be continued for fifty days. The majority thereby were in hopes to pay their court to him : but in many 'twas only a mere refin'd hatred ; their design being, on this and many other occasions, wherein they decreed him the most excessive honours, to excite people's envy, to render him odious, and to pave the way to his destruction. Cæsar, who was extremely fond of pomp, perceiv'd not their drift, but gave entirely into their scheme ; so readily do the most exalted genius's become the dupes of their favourite ruling passion. He scrupled not to celebrate an odious triumph, which had no foreign war for its pretence : and, some few instances excepted, there were no honours so excessive, nor no flattery so absurd, which he did not afterwards readily accept.

He is declared Imperator, perpetual Dictator, &c.

Suet. Cæs.
n. 76.
Plut. Dio.
Appian.

Cæsar's fortune now was at its highest pitch. The contrary party was entirely destroyed, not having any leader or troops remaining throughout the whole empire. Cæsar, being now unopposed, only wanted some titles which might perpetuate and seem to authorise the power he had usurped : and which, as he was absolute, were soon conferred on him. He was accordingly declared IMPERATOR, or Emperor, *Pater Patriæ*, Consul for ten years, and perpetual Dictator.

Plutarch observes that by this last title, he was invested with Monarchy ; they having perpetuated that high Dignity, which had ever carried with it an unlimited authority. The appellation of *Pater patriæ* was only a title of honour : But that of * *Imperator*, in the manner

* *This word has various acceptations. Besides the com-*

ner it was granted him, conferred on him the chief command of all the forces of the Republic. As for the decennial Consulship, it being of no service to him by his having been declared perpetual Dictator and Emperor, he declined it.

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.

His person, in like manner with that of the Tribuns, was declared sacred and inviolable : but this precaution was not able to screen him from the resentment his unjust usurpation inspired people with. And to do him further honour, they altered the name of the month in which he was born ; which being the fifth from the month of March, had always, till then, been call'd, for that reason, *Quintilis* ; but was now changed to *Julius* ; from whence is derived our present July.

Imagination itself was exhausted to invent new and uncommon honours for him : and this may be stiled the epocha of that spirit of flattery which was carried to so great a height under the succeeding Emperors, and increased in proportion as the object was base and detestable. I shall not particularise all the incense of this kind, which was offered up to Cæsar ; the privilege of wearing the triumphal robe on all festival days, a distinct seat in all

Extraordinary honours conferred on him. The privilege of constantly wearing a crown of laurel gives him singular satisfaction. The reason.

mon signification of General it became a title of honour for any commander who had gain'd a single victory. Of this we have cited, in the course of this history, several instances, and down to the time of † Tiberius, we find this title bestowed on some private persons, in this second sense. But this epithet of Imperator was given to

Cæsar, in an entire new manner, signifying hereditary Generalissimo of all the forces of the Republic, and it descended to Augustus and all his successors : which we translate Emperor, and used in this sense, † Tac. it preceded all other titles : Im- Ann. III. perator C. Julius Cæsar, Con- 74. sul quartum, Dictator perpetuus, Pater patriæ.

public

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45. public shews, rank, pre-eminence, statues, lastly divine honours. Though I shall have occasion to speak more at large as to this last article under the ensuing year. But I must not here omit, that, among his various prerogatives, there was no one gave him more satisfaction, than the permission granted him, of constantly wearing a crown of laurel. And the motive for this satisfaction is very remarkable, and very proper to instance, that the greatest men are not exempt from weaknesses; even such as expose them to the strongest ridicule.

Suet. Cæs.
n. 45.

It happened that the fore-part of his head was bald, and he had highly resented some jokes which had been made on that occasion: he therefore was extremely pleased, that by means of the laurel-crown, he could conceal this defect, which tho' trifling in itself, gave him strange uneasiness. For notwithstanding he was then fifty years old, he piqued himself on his person; and as he pretended to be a descendant from Venus, he endeavoured to insinuate, that he inherited from that Goddess, an extraordinary advantage, in person and figure. He certainly had a good complexion, a round ^b face, lively black eyes, and was tall and well-shap'd: all which natural advantages he studied to improve by the elegance of his dress. Who could have imagined, that Cæsar, who had conquered Gaul, and defeated Pompey, and the whole Republican party,

^b I have elsewhere said, *and body, τὴν εἰς ἰσχυρός :* on the authority of Plutarch, *which is not incompatible* that Cæsar was thin. But *with the round face attributed* the expression of the Greek historian is confined to his shape *to him by Suetonius, ore paulò pleniore.*

should almost deserve to be ranked among the Petits-maitres?

Cæsar, till his triumph, had been sole Consul. But as soon as he had triumph'd, he abdicated the Consulship, conven'd the States, which he had a right to do as Dictator, and procur'd Q. Fabius Maximus, and C. Trebonius to be nominated Consuls, for the three remaining months of the year. This was the second instance of his creating these titular Consuls, whose authority was extremely circumscribed. The people could not help resenting this degradation of the principal office of the Republic, and had a thorough contempt for such imaginary Magistrates. Accordingly one day, as Q. Fabius was coming into the theatre, and his Lictor according to custom required the people to make way for him, they all in general cried out, that they did not acknowledge Fabius for Consul. But Cæsar, who no longer regarded rule, shortly afterwards, notwithstanding the people's discontent, broke through the prescribed regulations, in a more extraordinary and provoking manner. For this same Fabius happening to die suddenly the last day of December, the Dictator substituted in his place C. Caninius Rebilus, who entered into an office at seven o'clock in the morning, which he was to resign at night.

Cicero took several occasions to make merry with this extraordinary Consulship. He said that nobody had eat any dinner, all the while Caninius was Consul: he commended his vigilance, in that he had not once closed his eyes during his whole consulship: he called him a metaphysical Consul, as he escap'd the senses.

When

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.

Cæsar appoints Fabius and Trebonius Consuls for the three remaining months.
Suet. 70.
& 80.
Dio.

Caninius Consul for 17 hours.
Cic. ad Fam. VII. 30.

Cicero's witticisms on that occasion.

Macrobius Sat. II. 3.

A. R. 707. When he receiv'd the compliments on his nomination, " Let's make haste, says Cicero, " lest the term of his office be expir'd, before we see him." Lastly he observed, that it would be one day ask'd, under what Consuls Caninius had been Consul. This last joke had at that time its force. But what appear'd then so extraordinary to Cicero, became afterwards customary. Under Augustus and his successors, Consuls were no longer created for a whole year: they were only nominated for some months, and the years were distinguish'd by the names of those, who were Consuls on the first of January.

Cæsar arbitrarily disposed of all offices and employments.
Suet. and Dio.

In whatever regarded employments, or offices, Cæsar only consulted his own pleasure, his interest, or the necessity of recompensing his creatures. So that during the whole time he was in Spain, there were neither Prætors, Ediles, nor Questors. The functions of the several offices were discharged by Prefects, who acted under the direction of Lepidus, General of the horse. When Cæsar returned to Rome, he created fourteen Pretors, and forty Questors, an exorbitant and unprecedented number.

In the disposal of the governments of provinces he was entirely guided by his own inclinations; without suffering them to be drawn for, as had been usual. He rejected such as did not suit his purpose, and gave a sum of money to a certain Basilus, a Pretor, in lieu of a government which he had denied him. Basilus was so displeased with and so highly resented this treatment, that he starv'd himself in a fit of despair.

Suet. Cæs. 41. However Cæsar did not totally deprive the people of their right in elections. He reserv'd
to

to himself the nomination of the Consuls and of one moiety of the other magistrates, the other half was left to the choice of the people. The common form in elections was still kept up, even for those whom Cæsar appointed; with this difference, that billets were distributed among the Tribunes, importing: "I Cæsar Dictator, have given such an office to such a one:" or more modestly, "I recommend such and such persons to you, that by your vote and interest, they may attain those honours they so justly deserve."

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.

He also created new Patricians. The number of the ancient Patrician families was considerably diminish'd by the various accidents to which human nature is subject, and particularly by the civil wars. The Dictator resolv'd to replace such as were extinct, by creating new ones: a thing which had never been practis'd since the first establishment of the Common-wealth. Nobility was to be acquir'd by means of great offices: but the Patriciat was hereditary, and only in such senatorial families as had been made choice of by Romulus, or some of the succeeding Kings, or lastly by Brutus, the first Consul, and founder of their liberty. Of the new Patricians created by Cæsar, we know none particularly, but young Octavius and Cicero. Dio indeed adds all who had attained the Consular dignity, or bore any office: which I suppose must be understood, any Curule office.

New Patricians.
Dio.

Nic.
Demaſc.
iſtit. Aug.
Dio. l.
XLVI.

To conclude as much as relates to the present year, I must observe, that Cæsar, not being able to gratify the pretensions of all who claim'd the Consulship by virtue of their services, yet being desirous to give them some satisfaction,

Consular ornaments granted to ten, who had passed the Pretorian dignity.

A. R. 707. satisfaction, he granted Consular ornaments to
 Ant. C. 45. ten, who had pass'd the Pretorian dignity.
 Suet. Cæsar. This new method of increasing the rewards,
 n. 76. without any trouble or expence, was approv'd
 of and frequently put in practice by the suc-
 ceeding Emperors.

*Cæsar, in
 conjunction
 with An-
 thony, ap-
 pointed
 Consul for
 the fifth
 time, nomi-
 nation of
 other Ma-
 gistrates.*
 Cic. Phil.
 II.

Though Cæsar had refus'd to accept the offer made him of a decennial Consulship, yet he did not absolutely decline that office: on the contrary he got himself appointed Consul for the ensuing year, and took Mark Anthony for his Colleague; who notwithstanding the falling out he had had with the Dictator in relation to the succession to Pompey's effects, on which account he did not follow him, either to the African or Spanish war, had for some months been retaken into favour. Dolabella, who had never quitted Cæsar, during the whole course of his wars, also laid claim to the Consulship. Cæsar satisfied him, by procuring him to be appointed Consul elect, and he was to enter into his office as soon as Cæsar had abdicated it. His design being to keep that office only a few months, till the time of his departure to make war against the Parthians: of this project we shall shortly have occasion to speak more fully.

Lepidus had been his General of the horse, in his third and fourth Dictatorship: and it was continued to him in the fifth, which dignity Cæsar jointly held with his fifth Consul-
 Phil. VII. ship: nor had young Octavius interest enough
 45 to carry it from that old friend. This, tho' a considerable mortification to Octavius, was in some measure alleviated by the assurances given him that his pretensions were only defer'd, not reject'd. For as Lepidus was in-
 vested

vested with the Governments of Narboneſe Gaul and Citerior Spain, and was ſhortly to ſet out to reſide there, Octavius had the promiſe of being in a few months appointed General of the horſe, and in that quality to accompany his uncle in his expedition againſt the Parthians. Theſe meaſures ſo taken and which depended on the continuance of Cæſar's life, were defeated by his unhappy death, which happened the following year, while he was yet Conſul.

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.

Frien-
them.

CXVI.

19, 20.

There was then no cauſe to ſuſpect ſuch an accident, but it was imagined the Dictator would be a long while abſent on account of the Parthian war. For which reaſon it was given out that there was to be a nomination of the Magiſtrates for ſeveral ſucceeding years : though there were no grounds for ſuch a report, except with regard to the Conſuls.

Sixteen Pretors were nominated for the enſuing year : and Cæſar, beſides the two Cule and the two Plebeian Ediles, which were created every year, inſtituted two more, which he ſtiled Cereates, who were to have the inſpection of the fruits of Ceres, ſuch as corn and all kinds of grain.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Cæſar was ſcarcely clear of the civil wars, when he began to grow tired of inaction. As he was ^c born for great atchievements and paſſionately

Cæſar prepares to make war againſt the Parthians.
Plut. Cæſ.

^c Ἐπὶ τὸ φύσει μεγα- πολλὰι κατορθώσεις ἔπρὸς
λαβρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλότιμον αἰ ἀπόλαυσιν ἔτριπον τῶν πε-
R ποιημένων

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

sionately fond of glory, his continual success was no inducement to him to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but became a spur to animate him to greater enterprises. And as he soon lost all sense of present glory, he was ever seeking fresh honour: thus becoming in a manner his own rival, he sought all occasions to make each succeeding exploit efface the splendor of the former.

These motives, which, to give them their just estimation, are no more than an incapacity of self-enjoyment, and are not so strong an instance of the greatness of soul in the person who is thereby determined, as of the inanity of all human possessions, these motives inspir'd Cæsar with the design of making war against the Parthians. Besides his health improv'd by action, and in the hurry of arms; and he was never so disordered as when at rest, and unemploy'd. But his pretence was the desire of avenging the Roman name, and of effacing any disgrace they might lye under by Crassus's defeat. And this appearing the motive, the Romans, who had nothing so much at heart as their national honour, could not but applaud the enterprize.

But Cæsar's views were not simply confin'd to the Parthian war; not to mention his design of chastising, en passant, the Dacians, for their frequent incursions into Thrace and Pontus; he proposed, after having defeated

πεινόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χεῖρα
καὶ δάκρυα ἔταί περὶ τὰ μίλ-
λευτα, μὲντοι, ἐπιπύκτου ἐπι-
κυὰς πραγμάτων, καὶ καυῶς
ἐξωὶα δόξης, ὡς ἀποκρίχθη-
μὲν τῇ παρῶν τῷ μὲν πάλ-

δος ἐδὲν ἢν ἱερεῖ, ἡ ζῆλος
αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἄλλων, καὶ φι-
λοτιμία τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν μίλ-
λευτων πρὸς τὰ πεπραγμένα.
παρασκευὴ δὲ καὶ γνώμη, στα-
θεῖαν ἐπὶ Πάξιδος. *Plut. Cæs.*

the

the Parthians, to go, by Hyrcania, to the borders of the Caspian sea, to pass mount Caucasus, then to penetrate into Scythia, whose frightful deserts he was to traverse in order to come into Germany, and lastly to return, by Gaul, into Italy. Thus nothing but the conquest of all the then known world, and the possession of an Empire, which had scarce any other limits than the ocean, could satisfy his towering ambition.

The necessary preparations for so grand an enterprise seemed sufficient employment for one man: but nothing was so extensive as Cæsar's genius. Various designs, which were all uncommonly grand, divided his attention, without either fatiguing him, or diverting him from his principal point. He intended to add to the ornaments of Rome, by two superb edifices, of which he had already taken the plan and dimensions, and laid the foundation. One was a theatre of an immense extent at the foot of mount Capitolinus, the other was a temple to Mars, which was to be bigger than any yet in the world. These two works were finished by his successor. His taste for learning engaged him to employ the learned Varro, in forming a library of all the Greek and Latin authors, which he intended for the use of the public. He had also formed a design of abridging the laws, which, by reason of their number were become extremely vexatious, and to retain no more of the civil law, than what should be found useful and necessary. And he procured a Senatus-consultum, which ordered a geographical description to be made of the whole empire, wherein were exactly to be marked the roads and their distances.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

*He forms
several de-
signs all e-
qually
grand and
magnifi-
cent.*

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

He also intended works of another kind, and of an immense expence, but which tended greatly to the public utility. Such as, draining the Palus Pomptinus, a lake of a very great extent in Latium, entirely uselefs, and extremely unwholesome; digging a new bed for the Tiber from Rome to the sea, in order to facilitate its navigation; making a port at Ostia capable of containing the first rate ships; and cutting out roads through the Apennine mountains, from the Adriatic sea to Rome: lastly, he purposed to divide the Isthmus of Corinth, to save the seamen the trouble of going round by Peloponnesus. The magnificence of all these designs must be allowed, though perhaps some of them were scarce to be effected by any human power, and have been since in vain attempted by various Princes, such as the draining the lake, and the junction of the Egean and Ionian seas.

To this astonishing multitude of designs, we must yet add the restoration of two cities, no less famous for their destruction, than for the figure they formerly made in the world, Carthage and Corinth. Their ruin happened pretty near the same time, and they were much about the same time re-establish'd, by the Colonies the Dictator sent thither: or if he did not carry this project into execution, it was at least, of his contrivance; and it was from his memoirs that Augustus rebuilt these two cities, which afterwards acquired a reputation not far short of what they had originally enjoy'd.

Whilst Cæsar's thoughts were taken up with these grand projects, a conspiracy was form'd against him, which was not only to defeat in
an

an instant all his designs, but to deprive him of his life. Which tragical adventure it is now necessary to describe. A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

§. II.

Cæsar's clemency. He refuses to accept of a guard. Several circumstances which render him odious. His readiness to accept of honours, and exorbitant privileges. Arrogance in his discourse, and behaviour. Desire of Royalty. Mark Anthony tenders the Diadem to Cæsar. Public resentment to Cæsar. Conspiracy against his life. Brutus's character. Cassius the first contriver of the conspiracy. He engages Brutus, who becomes the principal manager. They are joined by Ligarius and several of Cæsar's former friends. Brutus's prudence in the choice of his associates. Cicero is not let into the secret. Trebonius prevents the affair being proposed to Anthony : and Brutus opposes his being put to death with Cæsar. The number of the Conspirators increases to upwards of sixty. Several of their names. Surprising courage of Porcia the wife of Brutus. Her husband lets her into the secret. The Conspirators determine to kill Cæsar in full Senate. Cæsar begins to have some suspicions of Brutus and Cassius. He rejects the predictions of a Soothsayer. Cæsar's opinion as to what kind of death is most eligible. His wife Calphurnia's frightful dream. Cæsar is inclined not to go to the Senate-house, till persuaded to the contrary by D. Brutus. An intimation sent him of the conspiracy, which never came to his knowledge. Resolution and tranquillity in the Conspirators. They meet with several disappointments. Cæsar's death.

A. R. 708.
Act. C. 44.

He falls at the foot of Pompey's statue. Different opinions in relation to Cæsar's murder. Without doubt he deserved death. Brutus's conduct reproachable. Short reflections on Cæsar's character.

*Cæsar's
clemency.*

Suet. Cæs.
75.

Cic. ad
Fam. VI.
6.
Plut. Cæs.

CÆSAR's clemency, considering how he was circumstanced, was certainly beyond example, and seem'd to secure him from any attempts that might be made by his countrymen to disturb his tranquillity, or shorten his days. He had carried this noble inclination of soul to its full extent, not only by pardoning a great number of his inveterate enemies, but latterly by permitting all, without any distinction, to return to Rome, and enjoy their rights and privileges. He even did not exclude Pompey's most zealous Partisans from the highest honours: of this I might cite Brutus and Cassius for examples, who, at this very time I am now treating of, were invested with the Pretorship. Nor was his moderation or mildness to be disturb'd by the several reflections flung out against him, both in writings and discourse; and he readily forgave the authors, or at least thought them not worth his resentment. With regard to Pompey, he never spoke of him but with esteem and reverence: and when the mob, to pay their court to him, overturned the statues of that great man, Cæsar ordered Anthony his Collegue to replace them: which gave Cicero an occasion very ingeniously to observe, "that Cæsar by restoring Pompey's statues, secur'd his own." He observ'd the same behaviour with respect to Sylla, to whom he had always had

had an aversion, but whose statues he would not suffer to be demolish'd. A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Such magnanimity must be universally applauded, and the more so as in him it proceeded from inclination, and he did not want advisers to incline him to cruelty. This is hinted at by Cicero in a passage of his oration for Ligarius : “ If in ^a the high station you
“ are in, says he to Cæsar, you had not main-
“ tained that natural fund of goodness, I say
“ natural, and I have my meaning, the victory,
“ you have obtain'd, might have been fol-
“ lowed by an almost general mourning.
“ For it might well be expected that among
“ the Conquerors there wou'd be several in-
“ clin'd to dispose you to cruelty, when we
“ even find some such among the conquer'd.”

Cæsar's moderation therefore cannot be too much commended : and of all the honours whereby the impious adulation of the Romans rank'd him with the Gods they worship'd, he seems to have the justest claim to the consecra- Dio. l.
XLIV.
tion of his statue, which they set up in the temple of Clemency, giving its hand to that Goddess.

Cæsar imagin'd that he had succeeded, by dint of generosity, in procuring the affection of the citizens, or at least that he need have no apprehensions of them. He was sensible that one half, that is, those who had always serv'd him, must necessarily be attach'd to him *He refuses
to accept of
a guard.*

* Si in hac tanta tua fortuna lenitas tanta non esset, quantam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines, intelligo quid loquar, acerbissimo luctu redundaret ista victoria.

Quàm multi enim essent de victoribus, qui te crudelem esse vellent, quum etiam de victis reperiantur? *Cic. pro Lig. n. 15.*

A. R. 703.
Ant. C. 44.

thro' inclination and interest ; and the rest, thro' gratitude, as they were indebted to him for their lives. On this principle, (whose fallacy, when an usurper such as he was is concern'd, I have before expos'd,) he persisted in not taking a guard. And notwithstanding the remonstrances of several of his most intimate friends, particularly Hirtius and Pansa, who had a real esteem for him, he still persisted in his resolution, even at times when he was not without apprehensions : but he rejected their advice, saying, that 'twas better to dye once, than to live in perpetual alarms.

Vell. II.
57. Appi-
an. Civil.
l. II.

Several
of can-
fiances
which ren-
der him o-
cious.

Yet had his conduct been blameless, and had he been careful to avoid giving any offence, he might have hop'd to have liv'd unmolested. But several circumstances, for which there was no excuse, evinc'd, that notwithstanding his superiority of genius, he was not proof against the seducing influence of Sovereignty ; and that his understanding, which had so often shewn on other occasions its strength and vigour, was unable to support prosperity.

His readi-
ness to ac-
cept ho-
nours and
exorbitant
privileges.
Frier them
CXVI. 8.
33. 34.

Of this nothing can be a stronger proof than the facility with which he accepted the most extravagant honours. I have already handled this point : but I must yet further add, that they decreed him all kinds of divine honours, sacrifices, incense, libations, altars, temples, fixed feasts, Priests, and lastly the appellation of *Jupiter Julius* : and Anthony his Collegue was appointed the Priest of this new Deity. They also bestowed on him all imaginable titles of power and dignity. Besides those I have already mentioned, they stiled him the Deliverer, and ordered the construction of a temple to the liberty which he oppress'd. He was declared sole and perpetual Censor,

Censor, or Inspector of morals, *Præfectus morum*. A decree passed that the title of Emperor, and the High-priesthood should be hereditary to his children and grand-children, tho' he at that time had no issue. And orders were given for statues to be erected to him in every temple and in every city : and particularly two in the Rostra, one of which wore the *Corona civica*, implying that he had saved the citizens ; and the other the *Corona obsidionalis*, because he had delivered his country. He had also a statue erected to him in Quirinus's temple, by the epithet of the invincible God ; and another in the Capitol, subsequent to those of the ancient Kings of Rome, in the midst of whom was L. Brutus the author and avenger of the public liberty. These two last statues seem'd to be plac'd rather ominously for the person they were intended to honour. Quirinus, or Romulus had been torn to pieces by the Senators, as a tyrant and oppressor of his country. And Cicero says in a letter to Atticus : “ I am better pleased to see Cæsar associated to Quirinus, than to the Goddess of safety.” As for Cæsar's statue which was placed near that of the elder Brutus, it serv'd as a hint and encouragement to the Brutus who afterwards became the principal conspirator.

I shall conclude this tedious detail of so many base flatteries by a yet more extraordinary one than any I have already mentioned, wherein all regard to modesty, decency, and decorum was totally neglected. As Cæsar was known to be of an amorous constitution, which

Dio.
Suet. Cæs.
52.

“ Eum *οὐκ* Quirino malo, quàm Saluti. Cic. ad Att. XII. 45,

he

A. R. 708. he made no scruple to indulge, there were some,
Ant. C. 44. who being ask'd their advice in the Senate, were of opinion, that he ought to be allowed to make use of as many women as he pleased, without any regard to their rank or condition : and 'tis asserted that Helvius Cinna, a Tribun of the people entirely devoted to the Dictator, had prepared a law for that purpose, which he was to propose in his absence, tho' it had been contriv'd by his orders.

Arrogance in his discourse and behaviour. Cæsar had gone too far in suffering, and what is yet more inexcusable, in extorting so many decrees full of the basest flattery, and which, rightly considered, were no less dishonourable for him to whom they were directed, than for their mean contrivers. But the arrogant manner with which he receiv'd these marks of the public servitude increased the general disgust. For when the whole body of the Senate, preceded by all the Magistrates, came to present him some acts which they had passed in his favour ; Cæsar never quitted the Curule Chair in which he was sitting before Venus's temple, or according to others, in the middle of the Rostra, but only gave each of them his hand. This arrogance strangely offended not only the Senate, but the people, who thought the majesty of the Republic despised and degraded, by the treatment their august representatives had receiv'd.

There are some who are for excusing Cæsar, and say that he would have risen, but was prevented by one of his friends, or rather of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus, who said to him :
 “ have you forgot that you are Cæsar, and
 “ that 'tis fitting you receive with dignity the
 “ homage which is due to you ?” But others
 on

on the contrary assert, that when he was advis'd by Trebatius to pay the Senate the proper compliment, he took this advice very ill, and gave him a look which sufficiently denoted his resentment. Be it how it will, he had no sooner committed the fault than he was sensible of it, and pretended to excuse it by saying, he at that instant perceived himself going into a fit, which he was afraid his standing would so far increase as to occasion his falling. But this reason was only thought to be a pretence, the rather as he was afterwards seen to return home a foot.

This brought to mind the resentment he had himself shewn on a like occasion, and 'twas remembered that he did not so easily pardon any want of respect to his person. For in his first triumph, as he passed by the Tribun's bench, one of those magistrates, named Pontius Aquila, happened not to rise from his seat, which so offended Cæsar that he immediately ask'd him: "f why he did not claim the administration?" And for several days afterwards, he never promised, or granted any favour, without ironically adding, "provided Pontius Aquila consent to it."

These several instances are very unworthy of Cæsar, and discover a surprising meanness in so great a man, and an imprudence scarce to be accounted for, in so extensive a genius. And yet this discourse was suitable to his behaviour, and he was frequently heard to say, "s that the Republic was no more than a shadow

^f Repete ergo à me Rempublicam Tribunus. *Suet. Cæs.* 78.

^s Nihil esse Rempublicam: appellationem modè, sine corpore ac specie, *Sullam*

A. R. 705. “ dow without substance, a name without any
 Art. C. 44. “ reality. That Sylla knew not what he was
 “ doing; when he abdicated the Dictatorship.
 “ That he expected to be spoke to with more
 “ respect; and that whatever he said should
 “ be considered as a law.” Such expressions
 highly exasperated the Romans, who were con-
 tent with having their liberties invaded, but
 expected that at least there might be some ex-
 ternal decorum observ’d.

Desire of
 Royalty. Cæsar sum’d up all his indiscretions by an
 affectation of Royalty, which he was unable to
 suppress, or conceal: and by this means he fur-
 nished his enemies with the most specious pre-
 tence, they could have sought for, and indu-
 ced many to attempt his life, who otherwise
 would never have thought on it. His ambi-
 tion might well have been satisfied. In fact he
 was King; but he wanted the appellation: and
 the reality could not satisfy him, unless he also
 had the title.

Faſticipit. Of this he gave several proofs, on several
 occasions. The 26th of January, as he re-
 turn’d from mount Albany, where he had been
 to celebrate the *Feriæ Latinæ*, he entered the
 city in Ovation: This piece of state, however
 mean and contemptible it might appear after
 so many magnificent triumphs, yet as it help-
 ed to feed his insatiable vanity, was not unac-
 ceptable. Some of his attendants, who pro-
 bably were hired for that purpose in order to
 Suet. Cæf. -c. Plut. find the people, among the several acclama-
 Dio. Ap- pians. tions with which they honoured Cæsar’s entry,

iam * nescisse literas, qui jam loqui secum, & pro le-
 Dictaturum deposuerit. De- gibus habere quædicat. Suet.
 bere homines consideratiùs Cæf. 77.

proclaim'd him King. But the mob instead of shewing their approbation, testified their astonishment by their silence: and the Dictator, who was sensible of it, made answer, "that he was not King, but Cæsar." Hitherto he had done nothing which could be taken hold of, and at most had only given grounds for suspicion; but the following instance put it out of all doubt.

A man of no rank having on this very occasion put a Crown on Cæsar's statue, two of the Tribuns, Epidius Marullus, and Cæsetius Flavius ordered the Diadem to be taken off the statue and committed the man to prison. They also made enquiry after those who had first proclaim'd Cæsar King, and having also sent them to prison, intended to prosecute them, Cæsar, in point of policy, ought certainly to have commended the zeal of the Tribuns. On the contrary, he complain'd bitterly of them in the Senate, under pretence that they had robb'd him of the glory of declining an honour which had been illegally conferred on him; and he accused them of endeavouring to make him suspected of aspiring at a tyrannical power. Nor did he confine himself to simple complaints, but insisted that they should be removed from their office. Helvius Cinna their Colleague, seconded the Dictator in his revenge and procured a law to be passed, whereby they were deposed. Nay Cæsar carried his resentment so far as to insist that Cæsetius's father should disherit and disown his son: but the father absolutely refused to comply with so unjust an order: nor could Cæsar, who even in his greatest acts of injustice always preserv'd some sentiments of generosity, be offended at

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Jul.
Obseq.

Val. Max.
V. 7.

so

*A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.* so laudable a resolution. However this adventure betrayed his private thoughts, with regard to Royalty ; and notwithstanding the false allegations which serv'd as a pretence for his resentment to the Tribuns, there was no one so dull as not to discover the real motive.

*Mark Anthony tends the Diadem to Cæsar.
Plut. Cæf. & Anton.*

Or had there been any doubt remaining, Anthony took care to remove it, and that in the most public manner. This happened during the celebration of the Lupercalia, a festival sacred to Pan ; and Anthony, tho' at that time actual Consul, officiated as one of the Luperci, or Priests of this extravagant ceremony. I say extravagant : for these Priests ran naked about the streets, with whips in their hands, with which they struck all they met : and the Ladies of the first fashion endeavour'd to be under their lash, being of opinion that it procured fruitfulness. Whilst the city was amused with these extravagancies, which passed for a religious ceremony, Cæsar was in the Rostra, seated on a golden throne, dressed in the triumphal robes, and crown'd with laurel. In this situation he was accosted by Anthony, who presented him the Diadem. The universal murmuring of all present was a sufficient hint to Cæsar to decline the offer : and the huzzas which attended his refusal testified the people's approbation of his conduct. However Anthony made a second attempt : and was mean enough to prostrate himself before the Dictator, as it were to excite his compassion. But the people, who manifested their disapprobation by a profound silence, prevented Cæsar's accepting what he so ardently desired. Instead of putting the Crown on his head, he plac'd it on his throne : but perceiving that the people were not yet sa-

tified, he sent the Diadem to the Capitol ; saying, that Jupiter was the only King of the Romans. He however permitted that it should be registred in the Fasti, that is, in the journal wherein were set down all the memorable events of the year, that on the Lupercalia, the Consul Anthony, having by order of the people, tendered Royalty to Cæsar, at that time perpetual Dictator ; he had refused to accept of that honour.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.
Suet. Dio.

'Twere needless for me to observe, that this whole scene had been concerted between Cæsar and Anthony ; as the thing speaks of itself. But it may be necessary to take notice, that all these unsuccessful attempts could not prevail on Cæsar to abandon his favourite scheme. But as he found there was no possibility of his ever being acknowledged King in Rome, he form'd a project for having that title conferred on him at least in the provinces of the empire. For this purpose L. Cotta, one of the Priests to whose custody the Sibyls books were confided, was to represent to the Senate, that according to the Sybils predictions the Parthians could not be defeated, unless by a King : and that consequently it would be proper, that Cæsar should take upon him that dignity, in order to go and subdue them. And probably 'twas from the many obstacles which he met with, in Rome, to the accomplishment of his wishes, that he began to conceive a dislike to that capital, and that he first thought of quitting it, and transporting the seat of the empire to Alexandria or Ilium.

All this seems very strange, and will appear more so when we add, that he himself was perfectly sensible of the danger he exposed himself

256 JULIUS V. and ANTONIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 708. to, in affecting Royalty. For the day the Dia-
Ant. C. 44 dem had been offered him by Anthony, when
Plut. he return'd to his house, he laid his throat bare,
Anton. saying, that his enemies had nothing to do but
to strike, as they had now the most plausible
pretence they could wish for, to justify their
taking away his life.

Public re- His observation was just; and 'twas at that
sentment to very time that the conspiracy, wherein he fell,
Cæsar. was first set on foot. The Romans in general
were extremely irritated against him, for the
reasons I have mentioned: and the public re-
sentment shewed itself in several flagrant in-
stances, tho' their authors took care to be con-
ceal'd. At a nomination of Consuls, Cæse-
tius and Marullus, whom the Dictator had de-
posed, had a great number of votes. I have
mention'd that a statue had been erected to Cæ-
sar in the Capitol adjoining to those of the
Kings, in the midst of whom stood the statue
of the elder Brutus, holding a naked sword in
his hand. Some one had fix'd to the pedestal
of Brutus's statue the following inscription,
“Wou'd thou cou'dst come to life again!”
and to Cæsar's; “Brutus, ^a for having expel-
led the Kings, was created the first Consul;
“and this man, for having expelled the Con-
suls, is at last made King.” M. Brutus,
who was invested with the Pretorian dignity;
became now the object of every one's hopes,
and he receiv'd several invitations to shew him-
self worthy of his name. He frequently heard
it said: “We want a Brutus:” and he found
on the Tribunal where he sat as Judge, seve-

Suet. Cæs.
80.

Plut. Cæs.
& Brut.
Dio. Ap-
pian.

^a Brutus, quia reges ejecit, Consul primus factus est.
Hic quia consules ejecit, Rex postremò factus est.

ral billets and inscriptions, which reflected on his inaction : “ You are asleep Brutus : you
 “ you are no true Brutus.”

A. R. 708.
 Ant. C. 44.

However he continued not long thus inactive, but soon became the chief conductor of the conspiracy. Not that those popular and anonymous exhortations were his principal inducement, or that he himself was the first contriver : Cassius was the person who first engaged him in the conspiracy. But before I proceed, ’twill not be improper to draw the character of these two men, the last avengers of the Roman liberty.

Conspiracy against his life. Brutus's character.

M. Brutus pretended to be descended from the elder Brutus : tho’ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and some other writers will not allow him this illustrious original : and I can’t think that ’twas flattery alone which induc’d these authors to degrade the profess’d enemy of the Cæsars. If the deliverer of Rome had left any issue, ’twere next to impossible that they should not make a figure in the Republic. And yet for upwards of two hundred years after the death of the elder Brutus, history mentions but one of that name, a plebeian, who was concerned in the people’s retreat to the Sacred Mount, and was one of the first Tribuns : and when, after the interval I have mention’d, the Brutus’s appear’d invested with the Curule offices, they were look’d upon as a new race of men. But as, at the time I am now treating of, this family had for upwards of two centuries enjoy’d the principal honours and posts in the Republic, ’tis no wonder that, from the resemblance of names, it should have ingrafted itself on the patrician house of the first Brutus, and that

Plut. Brut.

A. R. 708. that opinion should then prevail with the pu-
Ant. C. 44. blic.

So that M. Brutus was reputed to be descended, on the father-side, from the Author of the Roman liberty ; and on the side of his mother Servilia, Cato's sister, he was incontestably descended from Servilius Ahala, a generous defender of that same liberty, and recorded for having slain Sp. Melius, for affecting the supreme power. As he was born with extreme good natural parts, he took care to improve them by the study of Philosophy : and blending with the mildness and sobriety of his manners the principles of an useful and honourable activity, he is represented in history as the most amiable and most virtuous among the Romans.

He had certainly a noble model before his eyes in the person of his uncle Cato, who became also his father-in-law ; and his whole study was to imitate him. His mildness was far from being natural ; being rather of a sanguine disposition, yet he never determin'd rashly, but prosecuted strenuously what he had once resolv'd. This was very justly remark'd by Cæsar, who often observ'd, speaking of Brutus ; “ that young man, said he, is never
“ indifferent in his determinations, for what he
“ has once concluded, he vigorously asserts.” No solicitations or applications, that were not supported by justice, could have any effect on him. He thought it scandalous and unworthy a great man, to comply with a request, for

ⁱ Magni refert hic quid velit : sed * quidquid vult, valde vult. *Cic. ad Att. XIV. 1.*

* I rather think it should be nam, as I have translated it.

want of resolution to deny a person to his face : and he used to say that he suspected those had not passed their youth very wisely, who had not learn'd to say *No*. A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Nor was he less studious to adorn his mind than to instruct his heart, and to virtue he added instruction, which have certainly a very near affinity. I have already said that he applied himself much to the study of Philosophy, which at that time almost wholly turned on the principles of natural religion and morality : and he had with him the Philosopher Aristo, who, tho' no great Orator, yet by his behaviour did honour to his profession.

Eloquence, that necessary instrument to a Statesman, especially in a commonwealth, was his next concern ; and this he practised both in Greek and Latin : for which purpose he retain'd in his family a Greek Rhetorician named Empylus, from whom he took his lessons. And herein he so far succeeded as to be reputed one of the best Orators of the learned age : and Cicero in the treatise which he call'd by his name, *Brutus*, and which he composed under Cæsar's administration, regrets that there are no opportunities for displaying so excellent a talent. “ You * raised yourself, says he to
“ him, with an uncommon progress, to the
“ reputation of eloquence ; and I am concern'd
“ to see that the misfortune of the times has
“ interrupted your course.” However it ap- Cic. ad
Att. XIV.
20. XV. 1.
pears, by some other passages in Cicero, that Brutus's eloquence was too much ting'd with

* In te intuens, Brute, doleo ; cujus in adolescentiam drigis vehementem transversa incurrit misera fortuna Reipublicæ. *Cic. Brut.* 331.

A. R. 7-8
A.M. C. 44.

philosophy : which made his discourses appear dry, and in some measure destroy'd their effect. However his pleadings before Cæsar in Asia, in the behalf of Dejotarus, were very pathetic, and what is more, successful ; since he thereby procured him his pardon from an incens'd judge, and secured him a great part of his revenues.

Brutus had a natural inclination to study ; 'twas his favourite occupation whenever affairs would permit him ; nor did it forsake him even in camp. While he serv'd under Pompey, whenever he was disengaged from that General, he amused himself with his books. The night preceding the battle of Pharsalia, after a very fatiguing hot day, whilst the rest slept, or ruminated on the morrow's event, Brutus was reading and making extracts out of Polybius. That Historian must certainly give him pleasure, from his judgment and perspicuity ; and his reflections are the more valuable, as he speaks from his own knowledge, having himself serv'd both in a civil and military capacity. When Brutus afterwards came to have the command of an army, he did not forget what had ever been his chief entertainment. For the very evening before the battle of Philippi, he dedicated some time to reading. As he slept but little, he spent part of the night in drawing out his plans, and making the necessary dispositions for the morrow ; and then sat down to reading, 'till he was interrupted by some of his chief officers coming into his tent, to levy him.

Such was Brutus : and the several instances we have related of him hitherto perfectly agree with his character : his aversion to Pompey,

his father's murtherer ; which however did not prevent his siding with him, as soon as he saw him at the head of the honest part, and the sole resource of the Republic ; the frankness with which he surrendered himself to Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalia ; the prudence, mildness and moderation with which he govern'd Cisalpine Gaul ; all these qualities serv'd to ingratiate him with Cæsar, who, even had he been less deserving, could not but love him, as being the son of Servilia, and perhaps his own. Brutus had it at his option to become one of the first in Cæsar's friendship, and to be next to him in power : and perhaps he might have yielded to such alluring temptations, had he not been warn'd by Cassius's friends, to be on his guard. “ Do not suffer yourself to be melted and enchanted by Cæsar, said they to him, but shun the caresses and favours of a tyrant. His intention is not to do honour to your virtue, but to impair your courage and destroy your vigour.”

Cassius, who for a long time had meditated Cæsar's death, and who even, according to Cicero, was near putting it in execution in Cilicia, at the mouth of the river Cydnus, ought to be considered as the first contriver of the conspiracy. However he could not himself first break it to Brutus, as there had been for some time a misunderstanding between them. Yet they had very powerful inducements to be on good terms with each other ; being brothers-in-law, by the intermarriage of Junia, Brutus's sister, with Cassius ; besides Cassius had obligations to Brutus for having sooner and on better terms obtained his pardon, from Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia. But they happened

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Cassius the first contriver of the conspiracy.
Cic. Phil. II. n. 26.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

to be nominated Pretors at the same time, which occasioned a dispute between them, which should have the precedence. However they submitted the decision to Cæsar: when Cassius pleaded his superiority of years, and claim'd some merit from the services he had done the Republic, in the Parthian war, after Crassus's defeat. Cæsar himself was of opinion he ought to have the preference, but he was over-ruled by his affection to Brutus. "Cassius's reasons, said he, are certainly the more cogent: but Brutus must have the precedence." This determination, which did not appear equitable, even to the judge who gave it, was look'd upon by the adverse party as a heinous affront. Cassius discontinued visiting Brutus, and his hatred to Cæsar became more strong and violent. For, besides the public reasons, he had had for a long time a personal pique to him: and 'tis from this foundation that several have made a great distinction betwixt Brutus and Cassius, with respect to the conspiracy. They said that Brutus could not brook an unjust usurpation of power; but Cassius's resentment was personal, and his hatred was to Cæsar, and not to the tyrant.

But Plutarch will not allow that there was any foundation for such a reflection; and to instance Cassius's natural detestation of tyranny, he cites a transaction of his while he was yet a child. Cassius was at the same school and had the same master as Faustus Sylla, the son of the Dictator. Faustus one day took it into his head, in discoursing with his school-fellows, to brag of his father's Dictatorship; which so far exasperated Cassius, that he struck him on the face with his fist. This affair occasion'd much talk:

talk: and Sylla's friends and relations insisted on satisfaction from the aggressor: Pompey undertook to decide it, and sent for the two children. When Cassius came before him, he said to young Sylla with an air of resentment: "Repeat the same discourse in Pompey's presence, and see whether I shan't correct you for it."

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

This action without doubt is a proof of what Plutarch advances: and an aversion to tyranny was so common among the Romans, and indeed is so to all mankind in general, that it may easily be believed to be so in Cassius: But then this aversion might be strengthened by his particular dislike to Cæsar. There was certainly no resemblance between Brutus and Cassius, in point of equity and moderation. The latter being of an enterprising, haughty, implacable, ambitious temper; and who made no scruple to sacrifice justice to his interest, or in order to serve his party; as we shall find in the sequel of this history. Nor indeed could it be expected, that he should have any great regard for virtue, from the philosophical sect whose doctrines he pursued: being a profest Epicurean. 'Tis true his ambition preserv'd him from that inaction, indolence and inattention to public affairs, which were the maxims of his instructors. But it is impossible that he, who places the sovereign good in pleasure, and whose will is his law, should have any regard to honour and justice.

As soon as Cassius, from these motives of public and private resentment, had determin'd to form a conspiracy against Cæsar's life, he began by sounding his friends, who all promised to assist him, provided Brutus would take

He engages Brutus, who becomes the principal manager.

A. R. 708. the management upon him. "We must not
 Ant. C. 44. "build our hopes on our numbers, said they
 "to him, nor even on our courage; but the es-
 "sential point is to get such a man as Brutus at
 "our head, whose name alone can justify our
 "undertaking. Without that, we shall want
 "resolution in the execution, and our mea-
 "sures will be liable to censure: for no one
 "will be persuaded that if we had had equity
 "on our side, Brutus would have refused to
 "join us." In so high esteem was Bru-
 tus's virtue, which he enjoy'd unenvied by
 Cassius; who to shew his approbation was will-
 ing to make the first advances to his brother-
 in-law, whom he had not seen since their quar-
 rel about the Pretorship.

Accordingly he waited on him, and after a
 reconciliation made, and reciprocal assurances
 of friendship given, he ask'd him if he should
 be at the Senate the first of March, which day,
 he had heard, Cæsar's friends intended to move
 for conferring Royalty on him. Brutus having
 answered that he should not be there. "But
 "how will you act, replied Cassius, if we
 "should be personally cited? My duty then,
 "said Brutus, will teach me not to be silent,
 "but to defend the cause of liberty, tho' death
 "should be the consequence." These words
 encouraged Cassius, who now made no scruple
 to explain himself. "And is there a Roman
 "living, replied he with some warmth, who
 "will suffer you to die before him? Can you
 "possibly be so ignorant of your worth? or
 "can you think that the inscriptions which
 "you have read on your Tribunal were laid
 "there by the mob and people of no conse-
 "quence, and not by the principal and most
 "dignified

“ dignified persons in the Republic ? Let other
 “ Pretors display their munificence, and exhi-
 “ bit public shows and combats of Gladia-
 “ tors : from you ’tis expected, as a debt due
 “ to your name and to the glory of your an-
 “ cestors, that you effect the destruction of
 “ tyranny. All the honest citizens are ready
 “ to run all hazards, in your defence, if you
 “ will but convince them that they may depend
 “ upon you.” After this explanation, Bru-
 tus hesitated no longer to enter into their pro-
 posals; and from that moment his and Cassius’s
 thoughts were wholly employ’d in associating
 a number of friends, whose fidelity and cou-
 rage could be relied on.

Ligarius, who had been some time before ac-
 cused, and acquitted, in the manner I have re-
 lated, was the first to whom Brutus made his
 application. He knew that Cæsar’s clemency
 had not so much weight with Ligarius as the
 affront which had been given him ; and that
 his resentment was as strong as ever against the
 person who had made him sensible of his dan-
 ger, before he thought fit to extricate him.
 Brutus therefore paid him a visit, and finding
 him in bed, on account of some indisposition,
 “ My dear Ligarius, said he to him, what a
 “ time do you chuse to be sick in ?” Ligarius,
 whether he had already been inform’d of their
 designs, or that the natural dictates of his heart
 prompted his judgment, immediately understood
 his meaning, and raising himself on his elbow,
 replied ; “ If, Brutus, you are forming any de-
 “ sign worthy of you, I am well.”

Ligarius was imitated by several others, who,
 as well as he, had been old partisans of Pom-
 pey, and could not forgive Cæsar for having
 defeated

A. R. 708.
 Ant. C. 44.

*They are
 join’d by
 Ligarius.*

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A. R. 708. defeated them. That an enemy, notwithstanding any apparent reconciliation, should relapse, is noways astonishing; but what must be matter of surprise to every body, tho' at the same time 'twill serve as an instance that an unjust usurper, however brilliant may be his qualifications, cannot be certain of any one person's affection, is that several of Cæsar's friends, men who had been all along attach'd to him, and had serv'd him from the breaking out of the war in Gaul, to the defeat of Pompey's children, entered into the conspiracy.

And by several of Cæsar's old friends.

Sen. de Ira. III. 30. And it is to no purpose for Seneca to ascribe their charge to an insatiable avarice, which no rewards could satisfy. This reason perhaps might hold good with some, and might influence their determination. But that those who had all the reason in the world to be satisfied with the returns Cæsar made them; that a Trebonius and Decimus Brutus should engage in an attempt upon his life; the former of whom had been Consul, and the latter was to be in two years time, and was actually set down in Cæsar's will as one of his collateral heirs: what inducement could they have, but a thorough sense of his oppressions and injustice to the Republic, and an inclination to free their country from a Tyrant who meditated its ruin?

Brutus's prudence in the choice of his associates. The Managers of the conspiracy observed great circumspection and reserve in the choice of their confidents. So that, though Cicero was strongly in their interest, and notwithstanding there was no doubt of his fidelity, or zeal to serve them, yet they did not think fit to intrust him with their design, lest his natural timidity, augmented by the damp

damp of years, might be starting obstacles; and his too great wariness and precaution might retard an enterprise which had need of the utmost dispatch. Without doubt Cicero bore great enmity to Cæsar: but it had never carried him so far as to tempt him to engage in a conspiracy against his life. And when his nephew Quintus, whose character and disposition were equally detestable, endeavoured to prejudice him by insinuating to Cæsar's friends, that it would not be improper to be on their guard against him, Cicero said in a letter to Atticus, "I should ¹ be apprehensive of the consequences of such a discourse, if I did not perceive that our Tyrant is sensible of my want of courage."

Statilius, whom I have mentioned in my account of Cato's death, as threatening not to survive him; and Favonius, that servile imitator of Cato, seemed to be made on purpose to enter into a conspiracy against Cæsar. However Brutus did not think fit to come directly to the business with them, but by dropping some hints touching the present administration, had a mind to see how they stood affected. And finding they did not answer his expectation, he discontinued the conference, under pretence that the subject was too intricate and so left them. Favonius had advanced, that a civil war was a greater evil, even than an unjustifiable submission to the tyranny of one person: and Statilius, pursuing the Epicurean principles which he professed, was of opinion that it ill became a man of sense, to

¹ Φοβερὸν ἦν, nisi viderem scire regem, me animi nihil habere. *Cic. ad Att.* XIII. 37.

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A. R. 703.
Ant. C. 44.

expose himself to dangers and fatigues, to please a set of knaves and fools. Labeo, who was present, declar'd himself of a contrary opinion, and endeavoured to confute them. Whereupon Brutus judging him worthy of his confidence, privately made him acquainted with his intentions, and found him apt and ready to join the avengers of liberty.

Labeo inform'd D. Brutus of the plot, and endeavoured to engage him in it. This Brutus was a man of no remarkable resolution, nor by any means qualified for any hazardous enterprize. But it was judged he might be serviceable to the Conspirators on account of the great familiarity betwixt him and Cæsar: besides as he intended shortly to present the people with some public shews, he was provided with a considerable body of Gladiators, who might prove useful in the confusion which the Dictator's death would at first infallibly create. Accordingly Labeo and Cassius made their proposals to him: but he returned them no answer, till having consulted M. Brutus, and found that the affair was to be under his direction, he made no difficulty to be of the party.

Trebonius prevents the affair being proposed to Anthony: and Brutus opposes his being put to death with Cæsar.
Plut. Brut & Anton.

The Conspirators had also some thoughts of making the same proposal to Anthony, who was on very good terms with several of them. But Trebonius oppos'd it, assuring them they would never succeed. He told them that he had some time ago, at Narbo. founded Anthony; when Cæsar was on his return from the last Spanish war. That Anthony very well understood his meaning, but did not seem inclined to engage with him: though he was sure he had inviolably kept his secret. Where-

upon

upon some, running from one extreme to the other, proposed killing him with Cæsar, as being a man of an haughty, insolent, tyrannical temper, who might do them much disservice, by influencing the troops, and by the power which his office of Consul invested him with. But Brutus declar'd himself against it, as he piqued himself on preserving from all reflexions of injustice, an enterprize, which in his opinion was founded on justice, and only undertaken in defence of their liberty and laws. Besides he did not despair that Anthony, whose sentiments were noble and generous, would, as soon as Cæsar should be no more, be sensible of the glory of restoring liberty to his country. By this means Brutus fav'd Anthony: and it was agreed, that at the time the blow was to be given, care should be taken on some pretence, to get Anthony out of the way, that he might not be a spectator of Cæsar's death.

By the extraordinary assiduity of Brutus and Cassius, the number of the Conspirators amounted to upwards of sixty, all persons of distinction, being either Knights or Senators. The chief of which, besides those I have already named, were Servius Galba, who had serv'd as Lieutenant General under Cæsar in the Gaulish war, and who was become his enemy, according to Suetonius, because he had refused him the Consulship: Servilius Casca and his Brother, Tillius Cimber, Minucius Basilus: all of whom had become Partizans of Pompey, when Pompey was no more. Among those who had always been enemies to Cæsar, history principally mentions Cassius of Parma and Pontius Aquila. The rest who, as I have

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

The number of the Conspirators increases to upwards of sixty. Several of their names.
Suet. Galba. c. 3.

A. R. 708. said, compleated the number to sixty, are either totally unknown, or at most only by name.
Ant. C. 44.

Plut. Brut. Nor was there one among them who in any respect betray'd the confidence reposed in him, either by shewing any diffidence, inconsistency, or by any kind of indiscretion; tho' they were not bound by any oath, but wholly confided in each other's word. Nor could wine itself extort the secret from Tillius Cimber, though he was remarkably addicted to drink, and who once jokingly said, speaking of his darling vice, "How can it be expected that I, who cannot bear wine, should bear with Cæsar?"

Sen. Ep. 83.

Surprising courage of Porcia the wife of Brutus. Her husband lets her into the secret.

A woman also was let into the secret; or rather, having half discover'd their design, she compelled them to a confession. This was the noble Porcia, whose constancy was no ways unworthy the glory of her father Cato, or the reputation of her husband Brutus. As this latter had taken upon him the management of so hazardous an enterprise, wherein were engaged all the virtuous and noble part of Rome, whose fortunes depended on his conduct, he was sufficient master of his passions to preserve an air of serenity free from all suspicion during the day time and in public: but when he retired to his family and during the night, he could not maintain the same constancy, and his wife perceived that his breast laboured with some great design, some agonising care, which he endeavoured to conceal. As she lov'd her husband tenderly, she was desirous to share with him in his inquietude. But before she demanded any explanation from him, she resolv'd

solv'd to make a very extraordinary trial of A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.
 her own constancy. She took a small knife,
 and having sent her women out of the room,
 stabbed herself with it into the thigh. The
 wound bled copiously, and the anguish, which
 attended it, was quickly succeeded by a fe-
 ver. Brutus was in the utmost consternation,
 and knew not what to think. Then Porcia,
 in the extremity of her sufferings, addressed
 him in the following manner: " Brutus, I
 " am Cato's daughter, and was given you,
 " not merely to share your bed and table as a
 " mistress, but to partake of your good or
 " ill fortune. Your behaviour to me has
 " been irreproachable. But how can I serve
 " you, or in what manner can I prove my
 " sense of your goodness, unless in assisting
 " you to support a latent uneasiness, and to
 " calm your disturb'd quiet? Why then am
 " I deny'd your confidence? I know that wo-
 " men in general have no great reputation for
 " secrecy: but a good education and suitable
 " company, have a great influence on the dis-
 " positions and tempers, even of women:
 " and who has a better right to make a me-
 " rit of these advantages than Cato's daughter
 " and Brutus's wife? However I relied not
 " so much on what's pass'd: but am now
 " satisfied, that pain itself cannot get the bet-
 " ter of my courage." On concluding these
 words she shew'd him the wound she had
 given herself, and at the same time declar'd to
 him her motive for so doing. Brutus was
 wrapt in wonder and admiration of her con-
 stancy, and with uplift hands, implor'd the
 Gods, that by succeeding in his enterprise, he
 might attain the reputation of being an hus-
 band

A. R. 705.
Act. C. 44.

band not unworthy of Porcia. He afterwards communicated to her the whole scheme of the conspiracy, and had no reason to repent the confidence he reposed in her, and which she had so well deserved.

*The Con-
spirators
determine
to kill Cæ-
sar in full
Senate.
Suet. Cæs.
80.*

The plot being so far advanced, there was no time to be lost; wherefore Brutus, one night, assembled all who were in the secret, and who were to have any share in the execution; and at that time they adjusted all their measures. It had been debated whether they should attack Cæsar in the field of Mars, whilst he presided at the election of the Magistrates, or coming into the Theatre, or in the sacred street leading to the Capitol: but they concluded to kill him in full Senate. Which determination appeared doubly advantageous to them; first, as they had an opportunity of assembling without giving any umbrage, being almost all Senators; and in the next place, as they expected being instantly seconded and supported by the principal persons in the Republic, who, they hop'd, as soon as the Dictator should be slain, would publickly espouse the cause of liberty. The circumstance of the place where the Senate was to assemble, the day of the ides of March, appeared to them of good omen, and even to have something preternatural in it. It being an apartment built by Pompey, contiguous to his Theatre, and bearing his name, and within ornamented with his statue: so that the Conspirators were of opinion that the very Gods had taken care to bring Pompey his victim.

*Cæsar be-
gins to
have some
suspicions
of Brutus
and Cassi-
us.*

All these intrigues could not be conducted so secretly, as not to give some cause of suspicion.

picion. Cæsar received information of their
 nightly meetings, and he began to have some
 of Brutus and Cassius. For one day when he
 was cautioned to be on his guard against An-
 thony and Dolabella. "Oh! says he, it is
 "not those plump, jolly, well-dress'd fel-
 "lows that I am afraid of: it is of your pale
 "meagre ones." Under which description
 he glanced at Brutus and Cassius. Brutus in
 particular appeared formidable to him, on
 account of his courage, the severity of his
 morals, and the number of his friends. But
 then when he reflected on his mildness and
 probity, his apprehensions instantly disap-
 pear'd: and once when he was advised not to
 trust him too far, "What (says he) clapping
 "his hand to his body, do you imagine that
 "Brutus will not stay, till this debilitated car-
 "cass has finish'd its career?" He thought
 that after him no one had better right, than
 Brutus, to expect the principal posts of ho-
 nour and power in Rome.

A. R. 708.
 Ant. C. 44.

Plut. Cæs.
 & Brut. &
 Anton.

Had Cæsar been disposed to give credit to
 prodigies or predictions, historians relate sever-
 al events which might have alarm'd him, and
 have served as a caution to him to be on his
 guard: unless we suppose these facts to have
 been for the most part invented, or at least
 not taken notice of till after his catastrophe.
 But he did not even give any attention to a
 very extraordinary and circumstantial predic-
 tion, which portended his life's being in dan-
 ger for the space of thirty days, to the ides of
 March inclusive. In his way to the Senate he
 met the very Soothsayer, by name Spurinna,
 who had acquainted him with this prediction,
 and in a jocular manner observed to him that

*He rejects
 the predic-
 tions of a
 Soothsayer.*

Suet. Cæs.
 81.
 Plut. Cæs.

T

the

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

the ides of March were come. “It is true,” replied the Soothfayer, but not gone.” Perhaps this man might have had some intelligence of the intended conspiracy : or may be, he by accident stumbled on the truth, which has sometimes happened, in the profession of an art the falshood of whose foundation is not to be disputed.

Cæsar's opinion as to what kind of death is most eligible.

Nor must I here omit an expression of Cæsar, which was looked upon as ominous, after his death, and has something remarkable in it. The evening before his assassination, he supped with Lepidus. Where, as he was ever very moderate in his diet and never unemploy'd, whilst the rest were at supper, he amused himself with reading, and sorting some letters he had received. Some of the company happened to put the question, what death was most eligible. Cæsar broke off reading and anticipating the rest, said, “that which is least expected.” And the very thing happened to him which he seemed to desire. Yet he was very near being kept at home and escaping the danger, by the entreaties of his wife Calphurnia, who was terribly alarm'd at a frightful dream she had had.

His wife Calphurnia's frightful dream.

She dreamt that she supported him in her arms all bloody and covered with wounds : which occasioned her to sob so piteously that Cæsar overheard her. When they rose, she conjur'd him by all that was tender, to stay at home and not go to the Senate. Calphurnia's apprehensions made so much the stronger impression on her husband, as he had never observed in her the least inclination to superstition : and not being very well, he was almost persuaded not to go. Whereupon sacrifices

were made and Augurs consulted, who all declared the signs they found in the entrails to be of ill omen.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Cæsar therefore gave orders to Anthony to go and dismiss the Senate. But Decimus Brutus, who happened to be present, insisted strongly on the contrary. He was sensible, that the measures of the Conspirators, of whom he was one, would thereby be entirely defeated; and that there was reason to apprehend, that if once their enterprise failed, it would be discovered. He represented to the Dictator, “that he furnished his enemies with
“arms against himself. That the Senate,
“whose intent of assembling, was to confer
“on him the title of King, and the Sovereignty of all the Provinces beyond Rome
“and Italy, would take such a delay extremely
“by amiss, and as an affront meant to them.
“That should it be told that august Assembly,
“that they must defer their deliberations
“till Calphurnia should have more favourable
“dreams, every body would consider it as an
“act of tyranny, nor would it be possible for
“Cæsar’s friends to convince his accusers that
“he did not intend to reduce them to a state
“of servitude. And lastly, that if no arguments could dissuade him from proroguing
“the Assembly, he had better go himself and
“propose it to the Senate.” Decimus concluded his discourse by taking him by the hand, and as it were lead him out of his house.

Cæsar is inclin’d not to go to the Senate-house; till persuaded to the contrary by D. Brutus.

This instant was of the utmost importance to the Conspirators: for the secret was discover’d, and Cæsar had like to have been acquainted with it. When he came out of his house,

An intimation sent him of the conspiracy, which never came to his knowledge.

A. R. 708;
Am. C. 44.

there was a slave who endeavoured to speak to him, but not being able to come near enough to him by reason of his many attendants, he went into the house, and desired Calphurnia to secure him till Cæsar's return, he having something to communicate to him of very great importance.

In his way to the Senate he received a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, which was actually delivered into his hands, but he had no opportunity to read it. Artemidorus the Greek Philosopher, who assisted several of Brutus's friends in the prosecution of their studies, had made several fatal discoveries. He drew up a memorial of what he had discovered, and joined the persons who presented their petitions to Cæsar. But observing that the Dictator delivered each paper as soon as he received it, to a Secretary, he came close up to him, and as he deliver'd his memorial, said to him, "read this, and lose
"no time: For it concerns you much." Cæsar kept the memorial, but by reason of the numbers which surrounded him and to whom he was obliged to give audience, it was not possible for him to read it, and he entered the Senate-house holding it in his hand.

Plut. Brut.

There the Conspirators were ready to receive him. Brutus had come there alone, unaccompanied: the rest had attended Cassius, whose son had that day entered into man's estate and taken the customary habit: and after the ceremony they all met in Pompey's portico, where the Senate had been conven'd.

*Resolution
and tranquility in
the Con-
spirators.*

Plutarch observes that any spectator, who had known the secret, must have been struck with admiration at the resolution and intrepidity

dity of these men, who, though they were upon the point of executing so hazardous an enterprize, yet maintained a serenity in their looks and actions, as if they intended nothing more than ordinary. Some of them were Pretors, and actually sat as judges, hearing the pleadings with all the presence of mind imaginable, discussing what points arose in the proceedings, and giving such judgment as the nature of the case required. And when a person, whom Brutus had condemned, threaten'd to appeal to Cæsar, Brutus reply'd with great indifference, "Cæsar neither does, nor will prevent my seeing the laws ob-serv'd."

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

However several accidents happen'd, capable of creating a confusion among the Conspirators. The first and principal was Cæsar's delay in coming, occasioned, as I mention'd, by Calphurnia's fears. Then Casca, one of the Conspirators, had like to have divulg'd the secret, through an ambiguous compliment that was paid him. One of his acquaintance came up to him, and said, "You thought to be very secret, but Brutus has acquainted us with the whole affair." Casca thought this man had been inform'd of their design, and had he immediately reply'd, the whole had been discover'd. But his surprise gave the other time to add with a smile, "What then, my friend, are you all on a sudden grown rich enough to stand for the Edility?" These words compos'd Casca, who trembled to think of the danger his inadvertency had like to have led him into.

They meet with several disappointments.

Brutus himself had a most violent shock to sustain; word being brought him, that his

A. R. 708.
ABT. C. 44.

wife, who had been for some time indisposed, was at the point of death. Porcia, who had drawn the secret from her husband, in the manner I have related, when the important moment approach'd for putting it in execution, was seised with a most deadly panic. The least noise alarm'd her: she enquired of every body who came from the city if any accident had happened to Brutus, and sent messenger after messenger for information. However as there happened some delay in the execution, she was unable any longer to support her concern. She grew pale, and presently lost her senses; and her attendants with difficulty got her into her chamber, where they put her to bed. It was judged she could not survive; and an account of this accident was immediately sent to Brutus. He was much concern'd, but not so far as to be drawn off from his present purpose. The interest of the cause which he had taken upon him to patronise, was superior to any private concern, how tender and affecting soever.

At this instant Cæsar arriv'd: and that the Conspirators might not be free from alarms to the last moment, they perceiv'd a Senator Popillius Lænas, who went up to the Dictator as soon as he came out of his litter, and spoke to him for a considerable time with much emotion. The Dictator seem'd to hear him with great attention. Now this Popillius Lænas some time before had come to Brutus and Cassius and said to them: "I wish your design may
" succeed, and advise you not to defer it: as
" there are several private accounts of it." From this discourse they thought Popillius was no stranger to their design: and when
they

they saw him speak to Cæsar, they and their friends to whom they had communicated what Popillius had said to them, made no doubt of their being discover'd and betray'd. An universal consternation reign'd among them : they looked at each other, and agreed by signs not to wait till they were seized, but to kill themselves to prevent the ignominy of a public punishment. Already Cassius and some others had laid their hands on the daggers they carried concealed under their robes. When Brutus, observing from the gesture and attitude of Popillius that he appeared rather as a suppliant, than an accuser, quickly perceiv'd his error : and as he had no opportunity of speaking to his associates in so mixt a company, he, by the serenity of his looks, and composure of his countenance, endeavoured to make them understand that they had nothing to fear. In effect, after some minutes further conversation, Popillius kiss'd the Dictator's hand, and retir'd : and Cæsar came into the Senate.

All the Senators rose from their seats to receive him, and the Conspirators surrounded him, and conducted him to the curule chair ; whilst two of them, Decimus and Trebonius, stopped Anthony at the door of the hall, amusing him with some fictitious story of their own invention. Tillius Cimber appeared at the head of those who encircled Cæsar, pretending to solicit that his brother, who was in exile, might have liberty to return to Rome : and all the rest seconded him with great earnestness, and took hold of Cæsar's hands, under pretence of kissing them, in order to excite his compassion. The Dictator however could not be prevail'd on, and perceiving him-

A. R. 707.
Ant. C. 45.

Cæsar's Death.
Suet. Cæs. 82.
Plut. Cæs. & Brut.

A. R. 7:8.
A.D. C. 44.

self crouded, endeavoured to rise. Whereupon Cimber laid hold of his robe with both his hands and stripp'd it from his shoulders, which was the signal agreed on: and as Cæsar was saying, "This is not acting like suppliants: this is open violence:" Casca, who was behind his chair, stabb'd him in the shoulder; though very slightly, his hand trembling, in the beginning of so hardy an enterprise. Cæsar turn'd about and perceiving Casca, "Wretch," said he, "what are your designs?" And at the same time wounded him in the arm with the stile of a tablet he had in his hand. Casca immediately called to his brother, in Greek, to come to his assistance. Then all the Conspirators drew their daggers, and Cæsar, in endeavouring to get from them, received a second wound in the breast, which, after his death, was judged by the physicians to be the only mortal one, of all that were given him. Notwithstanding his loss of blood, and the uplifted daggers which threatened his immediate destruction, he did not give himself up to any mean fear, but stood undaunted, like a lion, in the midst of the hunters. Some say that he did not speak a single word. But others assert, that when he perceived Brutus coming up to him with a drawn dagger in his hand, he thus tenderly reproach'd him: "What then, my son, are you also of the number?" And immediately after, covering his head, and spreading his robe before him, in order to fall with the greater decency, he submitted to be murder'd, without making any resistance. They were all desirous of sharing in the honour of the action: and even after he had fallen to the ground, their resentment

ment continued so strong, that they had no regard to their own safety; as appears by Brutus, who received a wound in the hand. A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Cæsar received three and twenty wounds, and fell before Pompey's statue. Whether this circumstance was entirely accidental, or that his murderers had purposely dragg'd him there, it however did not pass unobserv'd; and all who had any regard for Pompey's memory, took a pleasure to imagine him, as it were, a witness of the revenge taken on his enemy, who was murder'd at his very feet. *He falls
at the foot
of Pompey's
statue.*

It is remarkable that Cassius, who was an Epicurean, and consequently believ'd the soul to be mortal, yet in order to encourage himself to the action, address'd his looks to the statue, and as it were invoked Pompey, as still capable of interesting himself in the transactions of this world. Natural affection, at that instant of enthusiasm, had got the better of reflection, and made him forget his profess'd principles.

Cæsar's murder, at the time it happened, occasioned a diversity of opinions; some considering it as an heroic action, and others esteeming it an unpardonable crime. And this division of sentiment in some measure subsists to this very day. Cæsar's many good qualities inspiring many with a resentment to his murderers; at the same time that those, who profess themselves enemies to injustice, oppression, and an unlimited ambition, are inclin'd to applaud Brutus, for what he did. *Different
opinions in
relation to
Cæsar's
murder.*

This whole affair seems to turn on two questions. Whether Cæsar deserv'd death; and whether those who kill'd him had a right so to do. As

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.
*Without
doubt he
deserved
death.*

As to the first, I find no difficulty. There is a wide difference between parts, and virtue. Never man possessed all the qualities which constitute the hero, in a higher degree than Cæsar: but never man made a greater abuse of them. If it may be allowed, that whoever by violence subverts the government under which he happens to be born, deserves death; if, in a Monarchy, the subject who dethrones his King, merits the severest punishment, can it be doubted, that in a Republic, the citizen who appropriates to his own use the authority of the state, is an Usurper and a Tyrant, and ought to forfeit his life, for daring to violate the laws? Had it been possible to impeach Cæsar, and let him fairly take his trial, I can't think any one would have blam'd the judges for condemning him.

*Brutus's
conduct re-
proachable.*

But because a man deserves death, it does not follow that every one indifferently has a right to kill him. No criminal is punishable but by the proper magistrate, and his power is limited by the laws. To permit every private person to kill a man because he thought him a tyrant, would be putting a sword in the hands of fanatic fury, to the destruction of Princes, whose right of inheritance and perhaps the services they had done their country, would be no protection against an insult on their lives. The many fatal examples our history furnishes of this horrid bigotry will be ever recent in our memories. The light of reason alone, independent of Christian morality, which from its first institution has been averse to all effusion of blood; I say reason alone seems to me sufficient to condemn all tyrannicide, notwithstanding the pagan antiquity esteem'd it meritorious.

Brutus

Brutus therefore was culpable for having arrogated a power which only belong'd to the Republic and its laws. He punished a criminal, unordered and unimpowered, and consequently, so far from being esteemed the lawful avenger of the liberties of his country, he ought to be considered no better than an homicide.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

We may further add, from Seneca, “ that
 “ his action ^m was no less imprudent than un-
 “ justifiable, and that at the very time he en-
 “ gaged in it, there was an utter impossibility,
 “ as affairs were then circumstanced, that his
 “ hopes should succeed. For what grounds
 “ had he to expect the restoration of liberty,
 “ in a city, where power on the one hand, and
 “ subjection on the other, equally found their
 “ advantage? or to imagine that the Republic
 “ would resume its ancient form of government,
 “ when its members had no longer any remains
 “ of their original probity? or lastly, that any
 “ regard should be paid to equity and the laws,
 “ in a country where he had seen so many thou-
 “ sand men embroiled, not to repel slavery,
 “ but for the choice of a master? He either
 “ very little understood human nature, or was
 “ very little acquainted with the history of his
 “ own country, not to perceive that from the
 “ ashes of one tyrant, another would spring up,

^m Brutus in hac re videtur vehementer errasse . . . qui ibi speravit libertatem futuram, ubi tam magnum præmium erat & imperandi & serviendi; aut existimavit civitatem in priorem formam posse revocari, amissis pristinis moribus; futuramque ibi æqualitatem ci-

vilis juris, & statuas suo loco leges, ubi viderat tot milia hominum pugnancia, non an servirent, sed utri. Quanta verò illum aut rerum naturæ; aut urbis suæ tenuit oblivio, qui uno interempto, defuturum credidit alium qui idem vellet? *Sen. de Benef.* II. 20.

“ and

A. R. 708. " and that the greatest happiness which could
 Ant. C. 47. " befall Rome, would be to have so mild and
 " merciful a master as Cæsar." The subsequent events are but too strong a proof of what has been here observed; and we shall find, that till the Empire was thoroughly settled, Rome underwent so many calamities, that it never enjoyed so great tranquillity as when under Cæsar's dominion.

He himself had foretold as much; and as he often discours'd on the dangers to which his life was expos'd, Suetonius ⁿ relates that he frequently said, that his safety was not of so great importance to him, as to the Republic. That for his own particular, he had acquired glory and power, sufficient: but, if any accident should happen to him, the Republic wou'd instantly lose all its tranquillity, and be more fatally involv'd in civil wars than ever.

Short reflection on Cæsar's character.

Cæsar was killed in the fifty sixth year of his age, and he was forty years old when he began the conquest of Gaul: So that the great actions which have immortalised his name, and the proofs which he has given of a genius and capacity more than human, are comprised in the space of about fourteen years. He was born to command mankind, if great qualities were alone sufficient, and superior to right. Had his birth or a regular election placed him on the throne, he were an example to be imitated by all Sovereigns. But his private conduct would be a very bad model; his whole life

ⁿ Ferunt dicere solitum, non tam sua, quàm Reipublicæ interesse ut salvus esset. Se jampridem potentia gloriæque abunde adeptum:

Rempubicam, si quid sibi eveniret, neque quietam fore, & aliquanto deteriore conditione civilia bella subitum. *Suet Cæs.* 86.

being

being a continued scene of rapine and extortion, luxury and profusion, and a devotion to all kinds of scandalous debaucheries.

§. III.

Cæsar's death occasions a great consternation in the Senate and among the people. The Conspirators take possession of the Capitol. They are favour'd by the Senate. A considerable body of the people and the soldiery declare for Anthony and Lepidus, the chiefs of the contrary party. Brutus endeavours to appease the people, and treats with Anthony. The Senate meets, and decrees that Cæsar's death shall pass unrevenged, but that his acts shall be confirm'd. His will is to take place, and his funeral is ordered to be celebrated with all imaginable honours. Reconciliation between Brutus and Anthony. The Governments of the provinces conferred on the principal Conspirators. Cæsar's will open'd. The people's affection towards him revives. His funeral. Anthony speaks his funeral oration. The people's resentment to the Conspirators. Helvius Cinna is mistaken for the other Cinna, Cæsar's enemy, and torn to pieces. Anthony endeavours to regain the Senate. He procures a decree to prevent any abuse being made of Cæsar's memorandums or papers. Abolishes the Dictatorship. Puts the pretended Marius to death, who excited the people to mutiny. Assists the re-establishment of Sextus Pompeius. The Senate grants him a guard, which he extends to six thousand men. He vends forg'd acts, publish'd in Cæsar's name, and, by that and other means, amasses immense sums of money. Brutus is in want of troops and money. The projects of a military

military chest for the use of the Conspirators fails by Atticus's refusal. They endeavour to strengthen their party in the provinces. The Conspirators quit Rome. Anthony takes their Governments from them; gives Syria to Dolabella, and takes Macedonia for himself. Octavius's arrival at Rome disconcerts his schemes.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 74.
Cæsar's
death occa-
sions a great
consterna-
tion in the
Senate and
among the
people.
Suet Cæf.
82. & seqq.
Plut. Cæf.
& Brut. &
Anton.
Appian.
Civil. l. II.
Dio. l.
XLIV.

SUCH was the horror and consternation of the Senate, during the execution of the Conspirators design on Cæsar, that it continued silent and motionless; nor was there one among them who either thought of securing his own safety by flight, or of assisting the Dictator: But as soon as Cæsar was killed, when Brutus brandishing his bloody poignard in the air, attempted to harangue the company, and particularly addressed himself to Cicero, they instantly broke up in the utmost confusion: they made the shortest way to the doors; they eagerly pressed which should get out the first: they fled without being pursued. For it had been agreed by the Conspirators in council that no one should be kill'd but the oppressor of the Republic, and that all the citizens should be summoned to liberty. Anthony and Lepidus, who judg'd they had most to fear from their known friendship and intimacy with the Dictator, took shelter in the neighbourhood; from whence, the first having laid aside all consular marks, retreated to his own house, which he immediately put in a state of defence; the other went to Tiber-island where there happened to be a legion, which he march'd into the field of Mars. In an instant the news of Cæsar's death spread itself thro' the city, and occasion'd the utmost confusion:

confusion: All the shops were immediately shut: many took to their arms, and hoping to turn the present troubles to their own advantage, as there are never wanting such on the like occasions, began to plunder and commit all sorts of outrage: so far as to wound and even kill some of the Senators. The Conspirators did not think it proper to increase the disorder, by putting in execution what they had at first intended in relation to Cæsar's body, which was to drag it to the Tiber. They contented themselves with leaving it exposed to the view of an infinite crowd of people, whose curiosity brought them to see it: and after a certain time the body of this man, who a moment before made the whole universe tremble, was taken up by three slaves, being all that remained of his numerous retinue, and put into his litter; but with so little decency, that all the way to his house his arm hung out at the litter-door.

Brutus and his friends, being thus deserted by the Senate, endeavoured by themselves to appease and gain the multitude. They marched out of the Senate-house in great order towards the Forum, their left arms folded in their robe, and in their right hands holding the bloody dagger; and they caused a cap to be carried before them at the end of a lance, as an emblem of liberty. They advised all they met to be under no apprehensions, but to think of enjoying the liberty they had just procured them. Their decent behaviour and their peaceable discourse in some measure produced a calm. But Brutus did not think it safe, absolutely to confide in the then present disposition of the people: he rather chose to retire with his associates

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

*The Con-
spirators
take posses-
sion of the
Capitol.*

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

ciates to the Capitol, under pretence of returning thanks to Jupiter, and he made himself master of the place thro' the assistance of Decimus's Gladiators. There were some who in their march joined the Conspirators, being desirous to be thought of their number. But nobody was so far deceived by them : and without reaping the fruits of their vanity, they paid dearly for it in the end ; being comprised, by Cæsar's avengers, in the penalty of an action, which the public would never allow them the honour of having committed.

*They are
favoured
by the Se-
nate.*

Cic. ad
Att. XIV.
10.

Cicero was for having the Pretors convene the Senate to the Capitol : and the advice was good. That august assembly almost generally detested Cæsar, by whom they had been so frequently degraded. They in their hearts wish'd well to his murtherers, and 'twas only their fear and surprize which had prevented their declaring for them at first. As soon as that subsided, had they been assembled, they had certainly taken the most advantageous measures for Brutus's cause, and in which they themselves were no less interested. Perhaps, from the circumstances, Cicero's advice was at that time impracticable ; if so, the greater the Conspirators misfortune. But if it were possible, how great was their imprudence to let slip so favourable an opportunity !

However there were some Senators who came to confer with them at the Capitol, and particularly Dolabella, who claim'd the Consulship from Cæsar's death. He was to have entred into that office, as I have already observ'd, upon the Dictator's setting out for the Parthian war. As the place became vacant by Cæsar's death, Dolabella thought he had a
right

right to the Fasces : and I don't see any thing to the contrary. But it certainly very ill became him to declare against his benefactor's memory : the more so, as his motive was not any zeal for liberty, but the mere effect of ambition, and a conformity to the times. Nor was he long staunch to his new party : for after some steps taken for their support, the wind happening to change, he veered about, and became their most bitter enemy.

Tho' Brutus and his friends were supported by all the considerable persons in Rome ; yet it did not prevent the opposite party's becoming considerable. Anthony and Lepidus, who undertook to revenge Cæsar's death, or rather under that pretence concealed their ambitious and tyrannical designs, were supported by the majority of the people, and by all the military force in the city. Luckily for Brutus their number was not considerable. Besides Anthony had another very great advantage, in having secur'd Cæsar's papers and effects, which had been delivered to him by Calphurnia. As both parties stood in fear of each other, and moreover as the Chief of the party which at that time appeared the strongest, from his natural mildness and moderation, had his whole thoughts turn'd on peace, the business soon became a matter of negotiation : and Brutus employ'd the very day of Cæsar's death and the following, to endeavour to gain Anthony and the multitude.

Being surrounded by a great number of citizens in the Capitol, he harangu'd them with that fund of good sense and of virtuous maxims, so natural to him ; but not with so much force and vehemence as Cicero could have

U

wish'd

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

A considerable body of the people and the soldiery declare for Anthony and Lepidus the chiefs of the contrary party.

Brutus endeavours to appease the multitude and treats with Anthony.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.
Cic. ad
Att. XV. 1.

wish'd. However his discourse had so much success, that he ventured to come down from the Capitol, accompanied by Cassius: He mounted the Rostra: addressed the people in general, and was heard with silence and respect. But the Prætor L. Cornelius Cinna spoilt every thing by his extravagance and want of decency. He rail'd against Cæsar in a most outrageous manner: and went so far as to strip himself of his ornaments of office, which he said he had receiv'd from a Tyrant, in breach of the laws. But the people, who had a veneration for Cæsar's memory, express'd their indignation by their shouts and menaces to Cinna. This accident intimidated Brutus, and he immediately return'd to the Capitol. He was even under apprehensions of being besieg'd there: and as a great many persons of distinction had followed him, in order to assist him with their advice, and to shew their affection towards him, he took care, from that spirit of equity which influenced all his actions, to dismiss them; not being willing to involve those in any danger, who had had no share in the transaction which might possibly prove fatal to him.

Cic. Phil.
II. 89.

However he still negotiated with Anthony by the mediation of some persons of consular dignity, and by their means various messages pass'd between them. But Cicero would by no means be engag'd in it. He even advised the negotiators not to trust Anthony, who, as long as he was under any apprehensions, would promise every thing, but would resume his usual character as soon as the danger was over. However it was agreed that both parties should submit to the decision of the Senate, which was to be assembled the next day, the 17th of March,

in the temple of the Goddess Terra. The Conspirators were sensible how well the Senate was affected to them, and for that reason they submitted to its determination with no less joy than confidence. But Anthony posted soldiers at all the avenues of the Temple, who, under pretence of securing the quiet of the assembly, empower'd him to influence and govern it pretty near to his wish.

The first thing to be considered was, what treatment Cæsar's Murtherers were to have. As soon as the debate began, the whole Senate was in confusion. The importance of the subject, the warmth with which it was discussed, add to this the uncommon satisfaction of delivering their opinion with freedom after four years restraint, all these causes produced a great diversity of sentiments. Some (among whom was Ti. Nero, the husband of Livia and father of the Emperor Tiberius) were of opinion that Brutus and his associates ought to receive honours and rewards. Others, without taking notice of any rewards, which was what the very Conspirators did not expect, return'd them solemn and public thanks. And the least favourable were for granting them impunity. But there were some who observ'd, that before any thing could be determin'd relating to the Conspirators, 'twas necessary previously to examine into Cæsar's character and memory, because the treatment which his Murtherers were to receive depended on what idea they might have of him. The drift of this argument was to have Cæsar declar'd a Tyrant: and Anthony, who perceiv'd their design, and found that the majority were strongly disposed so to do, ingeniously started an objection which had never

A. R. 708.
Aot. C. 44.

The Senate meets and decrees that Cæsar's death shall pass unrevenged, but that his acts shall be confirm'd.

Suet. Tib. 4.

A. R. 707. been thought on, and which nevertheless was
 Aul. C. 45. obvious.

He represented that if Cæsar was declared Tyrant, 'twas necessary that all his acts and ordinances should be repealed : which was impracticable, because those acts affecting the whole Empire, the inevitable consequence of their abrogation would be an universal confusion.

“ But without extending our views so far, ad-
 “ ded he, let's begin by settling one single ar-
 “ ticle. All of us, who are the leading men
 “ of the Senate, have receiv'd favours from
 “ Cæsar : and 'tis to him we are indebted for
 “ the dignities and employments we have had,
 “ now have, or hope shortly to enjoy. In
 “ what manner shall we adjust this point ;”

This reflection of Anthony totally changed the face of affairs. The subject of their debate appear'd in a new light, and those who imagin'd they were only to pass their judgment on Cæsar, perceiving that their own personal interest was no less concern'd, grew more moderate in their resentment. There were many of them whose nomination had by no means been regular, and for whose service the Dictator's power had supplied the legal qualifications. For Instance, Dolabella had been made Consul, without being either of the proper age, or having passed the Pretorship. And he and all who were in the like circumstances were apprehensive of the risk they run of seeing themselves sacrificed. 'Twas to no purpose that the zealots observ'd to them that there was no intention to strip them of their posts, but only to confirm them therein by a legal authority. In vain did some who were actually interested set them the example, and declared them-

themselves willing to resign any favours they had receiv'd from the Dictator ; in hopes of losing nothing by such a resignation. The far greater number were for running no hazards, nor for risking the certain advantages they then possess'd, on the uncertain events of popular votes.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

This Altercation lasted a long time, and while the Senate was thus employed, Anthony and Lepidus, if we may credit Appian, left the house, to try how far they might rely on the mob which was assembled in the Forum. But finding them divided, and that the peaceable party seem'd to counterbalance the party which was for revenging Cæsar's death, Anthony determin'd to give up something for the present, and wait a more favourable occasion.

He therefore resum'd his discourse, and advised the Senators to reflect, from the difficulty they met with to settle one single point, what wou'd be the confusion they wou'd cause in the Empire, if they pretended to repeal all Cæsar's acts. He particularly insisted on the hazard they run in relation to the veterans, some of whom already compos'd powerful colonies, where they had been incorporated, and the rest, who no less expected to be recompens'd, made a great clamour in Rome, and had the preceding night been at all the Senators houses, threatening their destruction if they were not shortly provided for and settled. He desired to know if common prudence wou'd allow them to undertake, in the face of those old warriors, whose affection to Cæsar was so well known, ignominiously to drag his body to the river, which must be done if he was declar'd Tyrant. And concluded that since for the sake of public tranquillity all thoughts must

A. R. 705.
Ant. C. 44

be laid aside of revenging his death, that same consideration obliged them to ratify all his acts.

This medium, which seem'd to unite all their interests, was generally approv'd. Each party obtain'd in some measure what they wanted; and were apprehensive, by insisting on more, to lose the whole. Anthony perceiv'd the Senate too much inclin'd to favour the Conspirators, to think of compelling them to do any thing to their prejudice: and the Senate having no troops at hand, was not in a condition to force Anthony to desert Cæsar's memory. This was the inducement to a coalition, which was sure of subsisting no longer than while each party stood in fear of the other. Plancus, who was in nomination for the Consulship for the third year after that which we are now treating of, supported Anthony's opinion. And Cicero was also of the same way of thinking, and set it off with all the graces of his eloquence; citing the example of the Athenians, who on quitting a painful servitude, had found no other remedy for their misfortunes, than to order, that no * resentment should be taken of what was passed. Conformable to this was the Senate's decree, who unanimously resolv'd that there should be no enquiry made into Cæsar's death, and that his acts should be confirm'd. 'Tis true the Conspirator's friends procur'd this clause to be added, that this confirmation was granted for the sake of the public utility: which implied, that in their own opinion Cæsar's acts were null and invalid. But Anthony having the essential of what he desir'd, would not litigate a point which he knew well enough did not affect him. They also inserted an article in this decree, which

Cic. Phil.

I. 1.

Et ad eum locum Marci.

* *Μη*

*μετ' οὐκ ἐπι-
τιδ.*

which confirm'd the distribution of the lands A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44 promised to the veterans. Lastly as Anthony and Dolabella were at variance, insomuch that the former refused to acknowledge the other as his Colleague, they were intreated to close the public harmony by a reconciliation: to which they consented.

Without doubt, this accommodation, which settled the grand affair of the Conspirators, was not concluded without the assistance of Brutus and Cassius, tho' they were at that time in the Capitol. And I am apt to think, from the manner Cicero expresses himself in a letter to Cic. ad
Att. XIV.
10. Atticus, that the whole had been concerted the preceding evening, and that the Senate only strengthen'd by its authority the treaty which had been previously drawn up by the leading men of the two parties. And I think the same opinion may be formed of the regulation made concerning Cæsar's will and funeral, which however was the subject of a very warm debate.

Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, was charged His will
is to take
place, and
his funeral
is ordered
to be cele-
brated
with all
imaginable
honours. with the execution of his will. Several came to him and insinuated that he would do better to suppress it, and bury him privately. But finding that fair means would not avail, they made use of threats, telling him he should be responsible for squandering an immense sum of money which properly belong'd to the Republic. This was supposing Cæsar a Tyrant, and consequently his estate and all his possessions became an escheat and were liable to confiscation. Whereupon Piso loudly demanded the protection of the Consuls. "What means
" this Tyranny, said he, in those very persons,
" who pretend to have freed us from a Tyrant.

296 JULIUS V. and ANTONIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 708. “ They deny the last honours to an High-priest;
Ant. C. 44 “ they threaten me if I publish his will : and
“ pretend to confiscate his effects. Observe
“ the folly of these men ! who expect the con-
“ tinuation of what Cæsar has granted to them,
“ and would annul the dispositions he has made
“ of what immediately belong’d to himself.
“ Gentlemen, the manner of Cæsar’s funeral
“ is entirely in your own breasts, but his will
“ is in my possession : and I shall not betray
“ the trust which has been reposed in me, un-
“ less some one shall be hardy enough to send
“ me to the grave after him.” It was impos-
sible, after having confirm’d Cæsar’s acts relat-
ing to public affairs, to deny him the free dis-
position of his private effects ; or not to allow
him the right of burial, as soon as he had been
declar’d to be no Tyrant. Besides the affair had
been discuss’d with Brutus, who, notwithstand-
ing Cassius’s opposition, had consented to eve-
ry thing. Piso therefore carried his point. He
was left at liberty to open Cæsar’s will and car-
ry it into execution ; and the Senate decreed,
that the Dictator’s body should be honoured
with a public funeral, that is, authorised and
defrayed by the state.

Brutus’s too great facility led him on this
occasion into a very great error, and made him
act directly opposite to his interest. Cassius
was certainly in the right to oppose Cæsar’s fu-
neral. The persons of the greatest discernment
among them were of the same opinion : and
Atticus in particular strenuously insisted, that
the cause was ruin’d, if Cæsar receiv’d the ho-
nours of a funeral. Either Brutus was not a-
ware of this consequence, or judg’d so favour-
ably of Anthony, as to imagine that a little com-

complaisance would gain him to their party. A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.
A most unpardonable imprudence. For the case was far different, from that wherein he sav'd Anthony, for fear of exceeding the bounds of justice. And he certainly now had as good a right to oppose Cæsar's burial, as to kill him.

However this conduct at first prov'd advantageous to him. As Anthony no longer oppos- Reconciliation between Brutus and Anthony.
ed him, at least to all appearance, Brutus had an opportunity of entirely appeasing the people, and of satisfying the veterans. After having clear'd himself, in a long harangue, from the odious imputations of parricide and perjury, and after having promised Cæsar's veterans to put them in possession of all they could hope for, he was applauded by the whole assembly ; who declar'd they thought it but reasonable that such illustrious persons, endued with so much courage and patriotism, should be confirm'd in their prerogatives and restored to their dignities. However they would not quit the Capitol till sureties were given for their safety : and the children of Anthony and Lepidus were accordingly deliver'd to them as hostages. They then came into the Forum in the midst of the acclamations of the people : and as a mark of their perfect reconciliation, Anthony took Cassius to sup with him, and Lepidus did the same by Brutus, whose sister he had married. The evening was spent with great freedom, gaiety, and familiarity. Only upon Anthony's jokingly asking Cassius, if he had still a poignard under his robe, " Yes, replied Dio.
" Cassius, I have, and a sharp one, which I
" shall not scruple to make use of against you,
" if you pursue the steps of him I have kill'd."

The

Art. C. 45.
A. R. 708.
*The Govern-
ments
of the Pro-
vinces con-
ferred on
the princi-
pal Conspi-
rators.*

Appian.
Civ. l. III.

The next day the Senate again assembled, at which the Conspirators were all present. Their whole proceedings shew'd a perfect harmony. Anthony receiv'd commendations for having by his prudence and conduct suppress'd a civil war in its infancy: and Cæsar's Murtherers receiv'd more solid advantages. The principal Provinces of the Empire were put into their hands: and whether by virtue of a preceding regulation made by Cæsar, or otherwise, the Government of Macedonia was conferred on Brutus, that of Syria on Cassius, Asia properly so called was given to Trebonius, and Bithynia to Tillius Cimber. D. Brutus was confirm'd in the possession of Cisalpine Gaul, the nearest Province to Rome, and garrison'd by good veteran troops, who had serv'd under Cæsar. This decree for the distribution of the Provinces, on account of its consequences, will prove of very great importance.

*Cæsar's
will open-
ed. The
people's af-
fection to-
wards him
revives.*
Suet. Cæs.
83.

This calm was of no longer continuance, than till the opening of Cæsar's will, which was done in Anthony's house. Cæsar thereby appointed his sister's sons to be his heirs, that is, young Octavius to succeed to three parts, and the remaining fourth to be divided equally between Q. Podius and L. Pinarius. And towards the conclusion of his will he adopted Octavius. There was a circumstance which pleaded greatly in his favour, and flung a strong obloquy on the Conspirators, which was, that several of them were thereby appointed the Guardians of his son, in case he should have one; and to D. Brutus he had bequeath'd the reversion of his estate in default of his first appointed heirs.

His

JULIUS V. and ANTONIUS, Consuls. 299

His legacies to the people greatly gain'd Ant. C. 44.
A. R. 708. their affection. He left them the use of his gardens near the Tiber; and bequeath'd 300 * 21.65.11½. Sesterces to every Citizen. This liberality had its effect with the mob. And their ordinary discourse was, that it was unjust to brand Cæsar with the name of a Tyrant; as no man had ever shown more affection for his countrymen, or more concern for the State.

His funeral, which was executed with the utmost magnificence, caused a fresh disturbance. The body was exposed in the middle of the Rostra, on a bed of purple and gold: and near the head, a Trophy was erected, cover'd with the robe in which Cæsar was kill'd. *His funeral. Anthony speaks his funeral oration.* The body was plac'd in a kind of little temple, *The people's resentment to the Conspirators.* which was entirely gilt, and had been built on the model of the temple of Venus Mater. The funeral pile was erected in the field of Mars: whither a surprising concourse of people of both sexes and of all conditions resorted, to offer up something precious to be burnt with the body. But the funeral oration, with which the ceremony began, was, according to custom, to be deliver'd from the Rostra. This was undertaken by Anthony.

He acquitted himself in such a manner as plainly indicated, that in consenting to an accommodation with Brutus, he had only comply'd with the necessity of the times. He begun by reading the Senate's decrees which had conferred all kinds of honours on Cæsar, and had declared his person sacred and inviolable. He next put them in mind of the oath which they had all taken, not only not to attempt his life, but to defend him against all kind of violence. He thus artfully reviv'd in their breasts
their

A. R. 708.
Aul. C. 44.

Appian
Civ. l. II.

their affection to Cæsar, and their aversion to his Murtherers. As soon as he perceived that the train had taken fire, and that the people began to be in a ferment, he push'd things to an extremity, and neglected nothing which might urge them to vengeance. He presented to his audience Cæsar's bloody robe, and as he unfolded it, he took care they should observe the number of stabs in it. Lastly, in order to present them with a yet more affecting idea, as he could not shew them the body itself, which lay on the bed of state, he supplied one of wax, as big as the life, and wounded in the several places where Cæsar had been stabb'd. This image mov'd by springs, so as to be able to turn any part to view.

This sight, which Anthony accompanied with the most pathetic lamentations; compleated the people's resentment. It knew no bounds. Some were for burning the body in the Chapel of Jupiter Capitolinus: others in the hall where Cæsar had been assassinated. However the authority of the Priests and Magistrates prevented these excesses, which might have been the ruin of the finest and most sacred edifices in Rome. At this instant two arm'd men came up to the bed of state, which had been brought down into the Forum, and set fire to it. In order to form a pile, the mob put in practise the same thing they had done nine years before in relation to Clodius, and pull'd up the seats of the judges, the counters of the bankers and shop-keepers, and in a word whatever wood they could lay their hands on. They then flung into the fire the gifts and offerings and all the pompous decorations

corations of the funeral. The soldiers also cast in their arms, and some of them their crowns, or other military honours. The very ladies could not refuse to sacrifice their ornaments to Cæsar, and they made their children do the same. By this time the flame became so violent as to reach the house of a person of distinction, named L. Bellicus, which was thereby consumed: and several other both sacred and profane buildings had run the same risk, had not the Consuls prevented it by a proper distribution of troops in the Forum.

Nor was this all. Several were exasperated to madness, and with firebrands in their hands ran to the Conspirators houses, in order to burn them. But as they were prepared to receive them, they thought proper to retire, threatening to return the next day with proper arms.

This furious zeal, which animated the populace against Cæsar's Murtherers, prov'd fatal to one of his friends. Helvius Cinna, that Tribune whom I have twice had occasion to mention, came but late to the ceremony, having been deterr'd by a dream he had had the preceding night, and which had even given him a feverish disorder. He thought he saw Cæsar, who invited him to supper, and upon his refusal, seiz'd him by the hand and dragg'd him into an abyss. Notwithstanding this dream had had a violent effect on his mind as well as body, yet he was determin'd not to fail paying his last devoirs to Cæsar. On his arrival, unluckily somebody called him by his surname of Cinna. Which being heard by some who did not know him, they mistook him for the Pretor Cornelius Cinna, who some few days

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Helvius Cinna is mistaken for the other Cinna, Cæsar's enemy, and torn to pieces.

A. R. 702. days before had declaim'd indecently against
Ant. C. 44 the Dictator's memory. He was immediately
 surrounded and seized, and notwithstanding his
 protestations that he had no other connection
 with Cornelius Cinna than the name, he was
 pull'd to pieces on the spot.

Anthony Such were the effects of the funeral oration
endeavours pronounc'd by Anthony in honour of Cæsar.
to regain With which he might have been satisfied, if
the Senate. he had no other motive than to revenge the
 death of his friend and benefactor. But as
 doubtless his own interest was what most nearly
 concern'd him, perceiving that he had there-
 by incurr'd the Senate's displeasure, he resolv'd
 to regain that powerful assembly, whose as-
 sistance he had still great need of. For
 which purpose he did several acts which de-
 clar'd him a zealous Republican, and seem'd
 for some time to have forgot Cæsar, and to
 be entirely taken up in contriving his coun-
 try's good, and in the support of liberty and
 the tranquillity of the public. The follow-
 ing instances most remarkably evince this his
 new plan of conduct.

He procures I have mention'd that Cæsar's papers and
a decree to memorandums were in Anthony's possession.
prevent any As he had not deliver'd in any inventory of
abuse being them, it was in his power to procure the pas-
made of sing of any act of his own contrivance, under
Cæsar's the Dictator's authority; and the law would
memoran- have supported him, as Cæsar's acts had been
dums and confirmed by a decree of the Senate. By this
papers. means the Consul was empower'd to grant
 whatever privileges, immunities, or rewards
 he thought proper, either to towns, or to par-
 ticular persons. It is true he in process of
 time carried this abuse to the utmost excess:
 but

but at this time, whether to prevent any apprehensions of this kind, or to make a show of his attention to the public good, he insisted, at the request of Ser. Sulpicius, that a decree should pass, importing that from the ides of March, no ordinance should be publish'd in Cæsar's name, for granting either exemption or privilege to any one whatever.

This first step was highly pleasing to all who had any regard for good order and the laws. Anthony took a second, which seem'd to prove an uncommon attention to the liberty of the Republic; this was the abolition of the Dictatorship. He reserv'd the honour of this action entirely to himself. For he did not propose the affair, as had been customary, to the Senate's deliberation, but he brought the decree with him ready drawn up, whereby the title and office of Dictator was for ever abolish'd, with imprecations against any one who should attempt to revive it, and a power for any citizen to attack and kill him with impunity. This, as may be perceiv'd, was indirectly casting a slur on Cæsar's memory, and not only establishing and confirming the present liberty, but securing it against any future attempts.

At the same time he was no less serviceable to the Senators, in suppressing, by a bold stroke, a seditious mob, which might have prov'd fatal to them. The Dictator's ashes having been collected by his freed-men and deposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, the people erected an altar on the place where his corpse had been burnt; and near the altar, a marble pillar twenty foot high, with this inscription: *Patri Patriæ*. There public worship

A. R. 703.
Ant. C. 44.

*Abolishes
the Dicta-
torship.*

*He puts the
pretended
Marius to
death, who
excited the
people to
mutiny.*

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

ship was paid to Cæsar : vows and oaths were confirm'd by a solemn invocation of his name : and libations and sacrifices were there offered.

The mob which daily assembled in this place, was so much the more formidable as it was headed by a man of a daring spirit, who for some years had endeavoured to be taken notice of, and to raise himself, by a gross imposture, above his fortune. He was of mean parentage and nam'd Amatius : but from the resemblance of the name, he pretended to be the famous Marius's grandson, and son of him who was slain at Præneste, and had been made Consul when he was but twenty years old. Consequently he claim'd a relationship to the Cæsars : and even during the Dictator's lifetime he had been hardy enough to broach his falsity, and cunning enough to make it succeed to a certain point. Insomuch that some ladies, related to Cæsar, acknowledg'd him ; and he had already gain'd a great number of partisans. This happened when Cæsar was engag'd in the last Spanish war.

Nic. Damasc. de
Instit.
Aug.

Amatius at that time put young Octavius's prudence to an hazardous trial. Being inform'd that this favourite nephew of the Dictator was coming to Rome, he went as far as the Janiculum to meet him, attended by all his followers, and demanded to be treated and acknowledged as a relation. Octavius was not a little embarrass'd. He knew the imposture, and was cautious not to authorise it by any act which might seem an acknowledgment from him. On the other hand, there might be some hazard in denying a man so well attended. He therefore wisely chose a medium :
“ Cæsar, said he to the impostor, is the head
“ of

“ of our family, as well as of the Empire. A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.
 “ You therefore should apply to him if you
 “ would be acknowledged as a relation. His
 “ decision will be an absolute order to me,
 “ to which I shall submit without hesita-
 “ tion.”

When Cæsar return'd to Rome, Amatius, Val. Max.
IX. 15.
 so far from concealing himself, had the inso-
 lence in some measure to vie with him: and
 when the Dictator permitted the people to
 come and compliment him in his gardens,
 this wretch plac'd himself under an adjacent
 arcade, where he had almost as numerous a
 court.

Cæsar soon put an end to this farce. He
 enquir'd into the history of this man, and be-
 ing inform'd he was nothing better than a far-
 rier, banish'd him Italy.

After Cæsar's death, Amatius appear'd a-
 gain in Rome: he renew'd his practices with
 the mob, and pretending a zeal to avenge Cæ-
 sar's death, he began already to threaten his
 Murtherers, and even all the Senators, whom
 he flung into the utmost consternation. An-
 thony deliver'd them from this danger. The
 pretended Marius was seized by his order, and
 strangled in prison. This military execution
 was matter of astonishment to the Senate: but
 the benefit arising to them from thence, effac'd
 the irregularity of the proceeding.

The commendations bestow'd on Anthony
 on this occasion induced Dolabella to complete
 what his colleague had begun. For Amatius's
 death had not entirely restor'd peace to the
 City. The populace, tho' depriv'd of their
 chief, did not forbear publicly to pay reli-
 gious homage to Cæsar's memory. Dolabel-

A. R. 7:8.
Ant. C. 44.

la was determined to cut this evil to the quick: he overturn'd the altar and pillar, dispers'd the multitude, and having seized the most mutinous, he caus'd all who had the freedom of the city to be flung down the Tarpeian Rock, and ordered the slaves to be crucified. In this manner he shar'd with Anthony the approbation of the Senate; and this his exploit was particularly celebrated by Cicero, his former father-in-law.

Cic. ad
Att. XIV.
17.

*Assists the
re-esta-
blishment
of Sextus
Pompeius.*

The last proof of Anthony's complaisance to the Senate, at the time which immediately succeeded Cæsar's death, was the readiness with which he consented to the re-establishment of Sextus Pompeius, whose name was infinitely dear to almost all who then composed that assembly. This unfortunate heir of so illustrious a family did not wait his enemy's death e'er he attempted something towards the re-establishment of his fortune. After having led for some time a vagabond life, as I have mentioned, in the mountains of Celtiberia, he made it his application to assemble the scatter'd remains of the battle of Munda; and having also collected some other forces, he no longer kept himself concealed, but even ventured to seize several towns in the open country; and notwithstanding he was successively attack'd by two of Cæsar's Lieutenants, Carrinas and the famous Pollio, he made shift to defend himself against them both, and with some advantage. Already his affairs were in a tolerable situation, when he received advice that the Dictator had been killed in the Senate. This news encreased his hopes and strengthened his party: and he made no scruple to write to Rome, desiring leave to return
into

into his native country, and to be restored to his possessions ; and that all the troops might be disbanded throughout the Empire. Anthony seconded his pretensions : except that instead of restoring him his patrimony, a great part of which he himself was either in possession of, or had squandered, he proposed giving him two hundred * millions of Sesterces out of the public Treasury, and moreover to appoint him Commodore of the seas, as his father had formerly been. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Senate. And yet, for some unknown reason, the affair remained in suspense, nor was concluded till some months after by Lepidus's means, who as Proconsul of Citerior Spain, was naturally charg'd with this negotiation. They granted Sextus all the terms proposed by Anthony, and even more. For the equivalent allow'd him for his patrimony amounted to seven hundred * millions of Sesterces : an immense sum, which shew'd that the Senate's intention was to arm the son of Pompey, and not simply to indemnify him. Sextus thereupon quitted Spain, but did not return to Rome. He made use of his title of Commodore or Super-intendant of the seas, for the assembling all the vessels he could meet with in the ports of Spain and France, on the Mediterranean side ; and he remain'd some time at Marseilles to see what turn affairs would take. When he saw the Triumvirate forming, he seized on Sicily, where, as we shall hereafter observe, the out-laws found the safest asylum.

I return to Anthony, who assum'd an aristocratic and republican zeal, but who soon made it appear that he had no other interest than

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.
Cic. ad
Att. XVI.

*1.1562500;

Vell. II.

79.

*1.5468750.

Cic. Phil.
XIII. 12.

The Senate grants him a guard, which he extends to six thousand men.

A. R. 703.
A. D. C. 44.

than to satisfy his ambition. By all the actions I have just given an account of, in proportion as he ingratiated himself with the Senate, he forfeited the esteem of a great part of the multitude, who still preserv'd an attachment and even veneration for Cæsar's memory. This serv'd Anthony as a pretence to be apprehensive of some insult, and to apply for a guard to protect his person : which the Senate had no sooner granted him, than they had cause to repent it. For the Consul, instead of a guard, formed a little army, amounting to about six thousand men, which he pick'd out of the veterans, and put under the command of experienc'd officers. So that under pretence of freeing himself from an inquietude, which was little more than chimerical, he became a real uneasiness to the too credulous Senators.

*He sends
forg'd acts,
publish'd in
Cæsar's
name.*

Cic. Phil.
II. 92. 98

At the same time he gain'd creatures, and raised immense sums by means of forg'd acts which he uttered in Cæsar's name. And not regarding the decrees which he himself had procur'd on this account, he every day produc'd an infinity of pretended ordinances of Cæsar, which granted immunities, favours and privileges of all kinds ; which conferred the right of Roman citizens, not only on particular persons, but on whole cities ; which alienated the public revenue ; which recall'd several who were in exile ; in a word, which decreed whatever Kings, States, Citizens, or Strangers could obtain from Anthony thro' their credit, or could purchase with their money. And on this occasion he lost all sense of shame. For having at his command one of Cæsar's Secretaries named Faberius, who had been used to counter-sign these kind of acts, he only inform-
ed

ed himself what profits were likely to arise from the letters which were applied for: and the imposture was sometimes so gross, that Cæsar was therein made to speak of events which actually happened after his death. However this kind of fraud was to him a mine of gold. And there ^a was nothing that Anthony was not ready to sell, provided a buyer offered. So that at his house money went not by tale, but by weight. If therefore you add one hundred millions of Sesterces which Calphurnia paid him immediately after Cæsar's death, and seven hundred millions which the Dictator had deposited in the Temple of the Goddess Ops, and which Anthony seized, some idea may be form'd of his riches; and consequently what a power he had to succeed in whatever he pleased to attempt. He was besides supported by his two brothers, one of whom was Prætor, and t'other Tribun: and he had gain'd Lepidus, by procuring him the office of Pontifex maximus in the room of Cæsar.

A. R. 7: 8.
Ant. C. 44.

And by that and other means, amassed immense sums of money. Plut. Anton. Cic. Phil. II. 93.

Dio.

When he had well taken his measures, he resolv'd to attack Brutus and Cassius, to whom he had till then paid a very great regard. These two Chiefs of the Conspiracy had always been favourites with the Senate; but having never pursued any indirect measures, and depending on the protection of the laws, they had taken no care to provide themselves with either troops or money. Some indeed of their friends thought to raise them a kind of military chest, from a voluntary assessment of the Roman

Brutus is in want of troops and money.

The project of a military chest for the use of the Conspirators fails by Atticus's refusal.

^a Nemo ullius rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit hic venditor. Cic. Phil. II. n. 97.

Tanti acervi nummorum

apud istum construuntur, ut jam appendantur, non numerentur pecuniæ. Id. ibid.

A. R. 7:8. Knights. The thing was proposed to Atticus, who on account of his riches, credit, and intimacy with the principal persons in the Republic, might incontestably be reckon'd in the first rank of the Knights. Besides he had always been a staunch friend to Brutus, and a strong Republican. However he refused entering into the scheme, contenting himself with personally offering to Brutus all that he was worth, but said he was determined to avoid all appearance of faction and cabal: a very insufficient reason under such a government and in such times as he then liv'd. Upon Atticus's refusal the affair dropt, and the Conspirators thereby became considerable sufferers.

Cornelius Nepos, the author who mentions this fact, here takes an opportunity of bestowing great encomiums on Atticus's prudence and discretion. But the excessive admiration with which his hero seems on all occasions to affect him, greatly detracts from his judgment. For my own part, I see no action throughout Atticus's life which lays him more open to censure, or can better authorise the suspicions of a celebrated modern writer, who would have him consider'd as a man entirely taken up with his own interest, who kept well with all parties, and had no affection for any. However I do not pretend to condemn Atticus, nor to have the same sentiments of him as the Abby de S. Réal. Perhaps Cornelius Nepos has not so thoroughly explained the circumstances of the fact in dispute, as to enable us to form a true judgment of it. He is certainly an elegant writer, but far from being an extraordinary genius: and in abridging the facts, it may often have
happened

happened that he has retrenched more than he intended. A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Be it how it will, Brutus and Cassius, who had no forces they could immediately make use of, saw with regret the progress of Anthony's power, and were jealous of his intentions. They were also not a little alarm'd at the great number of Cæsar's veterans, which came to Rome from all parts. They therefore thought themselves under a necessity of putting their party in a state of defence: and as three of their associates had provinces assign'd them, and no objection could be made to their going immediately to take possession of them, to wit, D. Brutus of Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius of Asia properly so called, and Tillius Cimber of Bithynia, they persuaded them to * set out with all expedition, at the same time recommending it to them to make a sufficient provision of men and money. *They endeavour to strengthen their party in the provinces.*

But they were extremely embarrassed in relation to themselves. For being at that time Prætors, they were obliged to reside in Rome, particularly Brutus, who had the city-quarter under his jurisdiction, and therefore could not be absent above ten days together. The Governments of Macedonia and Syria had been assign'd them, but not till after the expiration of their Magistracy. So that nothing could exceed their perplexity. If they staid in Rome, their lives were exposed to the resentment of Cæsar's soldiers. And on the other hand, *The Conspirators quit Rome. Cic. Phil. II. 31.*

* Appian supposes them already set out, and says that Brutus and Cassius wrote to them. But the subsequent facts, and the authority of Cicero *with respect to Trebonius in particular (XIV. ad Att. 10.) have induc'd me to tell the story differentl.*

A. R. 708.
A. U. C. 44.

'twould be indecent and irregular in them to quit it. However they fix'd on the latter. Anthony justified the irregularity, by procuring Brutus a dispensation from the people for non-residence : and the Senate endeavour'd to obviate any reflexions that might be made on their departure or rather their flight, by giving them a commission to raise, in Sicily and Asia, the provisions of corn necessary for the city.

Anthony takes their governments from them ; gives Syria to Dolabella and keeps Macedonia for himself.

They had scarcely quitted Rome before Anthony unmask'd, and undertook to strip them of their governments. As they were upon all accounts the two best in the empire ; he therefore found a double advantage, in taking them from his adversaries, and in bestowing them according to his inclinations. However he did not care to set out by acting directly for himself, and he persuaded his Collegue to ask for Syria, which had been assign'd to Cassius. On the Senate's refusal, Dolabella, who expected no less, had recourse to the people : and with Anthony's assistance, who by virtue of his authority silenced a Tribun of the contrary party, carried his point. This first step gain'd, emboldened Anthony, who by the same means procur'd the province of Macedonia for himself. However not to break thro' all measures with men of such consequence as Brutus and Cassius, he consented that the Senate should grant them, by way of indemnification, to the one Cirene, and to the other the isle of Crete ; which provinces were by no means an equivalent for those which had been taken from them.

Octavius's arrival at Rome disconcerts his schemes.

In this manner Anthony made known his intentions, and endeavour'd, by destroying the Republican party, to raise himself. 'Tis plain his hopes were to succeed Cæsar : and perhaps he

he might have carried his point, if he had not been interrupted by a rival, who tho' he was not near equal to him in years, yet far exceeded him in experience. 'Tis plain I mean Octavius, who happened to be absent from Rome at the time of his uncle's death, but was no sooner inform'd of it than he set forward with all expedition. His arrival is a very important Æra, as it still more embroiled affairs, increas'd factions, and confounded interests. The matter is copious, but from the multiplicity of facts, must cost an author some pains to avoid confusion: however I shall endeavour to be as little obscure as possible.

A. R. 708
Ant. C. 44.



B O O K XLVII.

OCTAVIUS, adopted by Cæsar's will, begins to interfere in affairs, and declares for the Senate in opposition to Anthony. Brutus and Cassius acquire great forces in the provinces. The war of Modena. Anthony's fall and rise. *Anno Romæ 708. 709.*

§. I.

The Conspirators imprudent conduct the cause of Anthony's rise. Octavius comes and forms a party. From Apollonia, where he first heard of his Uncle's death, he comes into Italy and takes the name of Cæsar. He tries his skill, by deceiving Cicero, who joins him. His Mother is not able to prevail on him to renounce the succession to Cæsar. His first interview with Anthony, who receives him very ill. He wants to be made Tribune of the people: but Anthony prevents it. He gains the multitude by his liberality, and by the feasts he gives them. Comet during Octavius's sports. He sells all his inheritance from Cæsar. Difficulties started by the Consul. Their falling out and reconciliation. Octavius is accused by Anthony of an attempt to have him assassinated. They take arms. Anthony sends for the Macedonian legions into Italy. He affects to be popular. Octavius gains his Father's veterans. Brutus and Cassius quit Italy and go beyond sea. Porcia and Brutus's separation. Cicero sets out on a voyage to Greece.

But changes his mind and returns to Rome. Cicero's first Philippic. His second Philippic. Anthony being come to Brundisium offends the soldiers by his severity. He arrives at Rome with the legion called the Larks. He there strikes a terror. Troops assembled by Octavius. He forsaken by the greatest part of them. He recovers them by his prudence and mildness. Two of Anthony's legions come over to Octavius. Anthony leaves Rome and undertakes to make himself master of Cisalpine Gaul, which D. Brutus was in possession of. The forces of Anthony, of Decimus, and of Octavius. Octavius tenders his service to the Senate against Anthony. They accept his offer. Cicero's last engagements with Octavius. A decree of the Senate which authorises Decimus and Octavius's military preparations. Anthony besieges Decimus in Modena. State of the Republican party in Italy. Brutus and Cassius go to Athens. Brutus engages the young Roman students into his service, among others Cicero's son and the Poet Horace. He in a short time raises a powerful army, and makes himself master of Greece, of Macedonia and the adjacent countries. Cassius goes into Syria, whilst Dolabella stops in Asia minor, where he puts Trebonius to death. Cassius makes himself master of Syria and of twelve legions. He is commissioned by the Senate to carry on the war with Dolabella, whom he reduces to such straits that he kills himself. The horse Sejanus. State of all the Roman armies. The dispositions of their Commanders. Paleness of the sun during the whole year of Cæsar's death. Servilius Isauricus's death. A remarkable instance of his gravity.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

THE

A. R. 708.
 Ant. C. 44.
*The Conspirators im-
 prudent
 conduct the
 cause of
 Antony's
 rise.*

THE rapid advancement of Anthony, who at the instant of Cæsar's death had appeared so terrified and disconcerted, and in the space of a few weeks had attained the head of affairs, and reduced the Chiefs of the Republican party to the necessity of quitting Rome, was entirely owing to the imprudent conduct of the Conspirators. They were satisfied with having taken very right measures for killing Cæsar, but had made no preparations for the necessary consequences of so extraordinary an event. Insomuch that every fresh incident embarrassed them, and they were often as it were forced to chuse the worst side. So that tho' they had subverted the modern form of Government, yet they had done nothing towards establishing the ancient one. “^b The Tyrant is dead, said Cicero, and yet we are not free. Our Heroes have done much to their own honour, but nothing for their country, or for us. O what a glorious exploit, but unfortunately left imperfect !”

Nay further ; the confirmation of Cæsar's acts, to which they had given their consent, made his authority subsist even after his death. Cicero was not a little concern'd at this. “ Good Gods ! cries he, The Tyrant is dead and

^b Interfecto rege liberi non sumus. Nostri τῆς πόλεως quod per ipsos confici potuit gloriosissime & magnificentissime confecerunt : reliquæ res opus & copias desiderant, quas nullas habemus. Illi quoquomodo beati, civitas misera. ὦ παῖδες ! καλῶς μὲν, ἀτελῶς δὲ. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 11. 4. 5. 12.

^c O Dii boni ! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit ! Cui servire ipsi non potuimus, ejus libellis paremus. Ut audeant dicere, Tu ne contra Cæsaris nutum ? Quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæsaris non modo acta, sed cogitata revocamur. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 9. 14. 10. 17.

“ yet

“ yet Tyranny flourishes. We could not en- A. R. 708.
 “ dure him for a master, and yet we respect as Ant. C. 44.
 “ laws, all the papers that are found at his
 “ house, after his death. We must submit
 “ to be asked, What ! dare you oppose Cæsar’s
 “ will ? and wherever we go, we are continu-
 “ ally reminded not only of his orders, but of
 “ his minuteſt thoughts.” Anthony, as we
 have found, miſapplied Cæſar’s name, for an
 infinite number of things, which the Dictator
 never ſo much as thought of, and would not
 have done, if he had liv’d. ’Tis therefore
 with reaſon that Cicero ſcruples not to ſay,
 that “^d the managers of the Conſpiracy had
 “ the heart of a man and the underſtanding of
 “ a child.”

He lays the whole ^e blame on Brutus, for
 letting Anthony live, who might have been
 killed at the ſame time as Cæſar. Who knows
 not that remarkable expreſſion of his in two of his
 letters, one to Trebonius, the other to Caſſius :
 “ I wiſh I had been ^f invited to that exquisite
 “ repaſt of the Ides of March ! there ſhould
 “ have been no leavings.” But beſides that
 juſtice and humanity on this occaſion defend
 Brutus’s conduct, Anthony had not yet diſco-
 vered himſelf : and ^g Cicero himſelf at firſt con-
 ſider’d him, rather as a perſon capable of di-
 recting a banquet, than of forming any pernicious
 projects. Brutus’s fault was in imagining

^d Acta illa res eſt animo
 virili, conſilio puerili. *Id.*
ibid. 21.

^e Hæc omnis culpa Bruti.
Cic. ad Att. XV. 20.

^f Quàm vellem ad illas
 pulcherrimas epulas me Idi-
 bus Martiis invitaffes ! reli-

quiarum nihil haberemus.
Cic. ad Fam. X. 28. *vid.*
 XII. 4.

^g Antonium ego epula-
 rum magis arbitror rationem
 habere, quàm quidquam ma-
 li cogitare. *Cic. ad Att.*
 XIV. 5.

A. R. 708. all the world to be animated with the same sentiments as himself against Cæsar, and in the
 AET. C. 74. behalf of liberty : without recollecting, that the people for a long time had been accustom'd to sell themselves to the highest bidder ; that the soldiery were attach'd to Cæsar, through gratitude, admiration, and interest ; and that the Senate itself, though the most uneasy with its subjection, and more benefited by a Republican government than any other body of the state, contained a great number of avaricious persons, whose concern for the public good was absorb'd by the hopes of making their fortunes, and aggrandising themselves.

Brutus thought he had to do with those ancient Romans, zealous for liberty, and ready to sacrifice themselves to serve their country. He persuaded himself that, as soon as Cæsar was dispatch'd, the machine of Government, if I may so express myself, would work again of itself, when the obstacle which impeded its motion was remov'd. This was being extremely ignorant of the times he liv'd in, and of the men he had to do with, and consequently being deficient in that part of knowledge the most essential to the manager of any important enterprize. He ought to have had forces to compleat the execution of his project. This was Cicero's opinion, and to confirm it he appeals to Brutus himself in a letter wrote long after. “ The ^b moment after the execution, says he to him, you only thought of
 “ peace, which could not possibly be procur'd

^b Recenti illo tempore tu omnia ad pacem, quæ oratione confici non poterat : ego omnia ad libertatem, quæ sine pace nulla est ; pacem ipsam bello atque armis effici posse arbitrabar. *Cic. ad Brut. II. 7.*

“ by any negotiation : I only thought of liberty, which it is true cannot subsist without peace ; but it was always my opinion that the work of peace could not possibly be effected but by a war.” Had Brutus follow’d this advice ; had he, on the one hand, taken advantage of the consternation, Cæsar’s death had flung all his friends into ; and on the other, had he made a proper use of the zeal of a great number of citizens, who were ready to take up arms in favour of Rome’s Deliverers, he might have restored the ancient Republic, at least for a time. But for want of being convinced of the necessity of having recourse to that only method, he suffer’d Anthony to become formidable, and gave young Octavius an opportunity of slipping between them, to destroy them both, and reap the whole advantage of the revolution.

Nobody would have thought that a young man, who was not quite nineteen years old, could have made so extraordinary a figure, on the grandest stage, and in the most important affair, that time ever produc’d. But to audacity and ambition, no unusual qualities in persons of his age, Octavius added a prudence, or rather a cunning, which exceeded the political experience of the oldest men.

He had been for some months at Apollonia in Epirus, at the time his uncle was kill’d, and was waiting his coming there, in order to accompany him in the Parthian war, in quality of General of the horse. However the time he remain’d there was not lost. He employ’d it in completing his exercises both of body and mind, and particularly in the study of eloquence, for which purpose he had brought

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Octavius arrives and forms a party.

From Apollonia, where he first heard of his uncle’s death, he comes

into Italy, and takes upon him the name of Cæsar.

Suet. Aug. 8. & 39.

Plut. Brut. Appian.

Civ. l. III. Dio. l.

brought XLV.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

brought with him a celebrated master, Apollodorus of Pergamus. For he was thoroughly sensible of the advantage of the talent of speech: he had consecrated to it the first fruits of his youth, by pronouncing, when he was but twelve years old, from the Rostra, the funeral oration of his grand-mother Julia, Cæsar's sister: and he cultivated it to the last, in the greatest exigency of affairs, and even in the midst of war and tumult.

Vell. II.
59.

The news of the Dictator's death surprised and afflicted him, but he shewed no unseemly grief or despondency. He did not imagine his hopes ruin'd; and he only deliberated on the method of pushing his fortune by himself, now he had lost his support. When the officers of the legions quarter'd about Apollonia came to offer him their services, Agrippa and Salvidienus, who even then espous'd his interest, advis'd him to take advantage of the good disposition of the troops. But he judg'd, with reason, that it would be too rash and precipitate a step, to put himself at the head of an army, without any right of commanding; without any, the least apparent, title; or without knowing the state of affairs, or being acquainted with the dispositions of either the people, the Senate, or any of the leading men in the Republic. He thought he had better go to Rome, as to the fountain head, where he might regulate his own conduct by the variation in circumstances, and might so far be supported by public authority, which there resided as in its center, as to give an air of sanction to his enterprises.

The method he propos'd to take, and the motive he intended to proceed on, was the
avenging

avenging his uncle's death : which indeed was the most specious pretence under which he could conceal his ambition, and at the same time an easy and certain means of procuring partisans and creatures, especially among the soldiery. I do not assert that it was mere hypocrisy on his part. An inclination to vengeance, as he was circumstanced, is natural enough, not to be suspected of artifice. I only mean to say that his principal end was, if possible, to succeed Cæsar ; and that the spirit of revenge held only the second place in his designs. However he affected to be actuated by no other motive : though even that he conceal'd at first ; and he pursued his plan, not with the warmth of a young man, but with all the phlegm and maturity of the most cunning politician ; patiently waiting for an opportunity to discover himself, and even sometimes outwardly deviating from his system, in order to return by an indirect, but more certain, rout.

No sooner was he come into Italy than he was inform'd of Cæsar's will, and of his adoption : whereupon he assum'd the names of his adoptive father, and was called C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. This was contracting an engagement, which put it out of his power to follow the timid advice of his mother Atia and of Marcius Philippus his father-in-law ; who had wrote to him, advising him to confine himself to a private quiet life, and to beware of a similar fate to his great uncle, whom all his victories could not exempt from an unhappy death. But Octavius only consulted his own courage, and he had an immediate reason to be satisfied with the measures he pursued. The

Y

legions

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

A. R. 728.
Ant. C. 44.

legions which were at Brundisium did not wait his coming, but went out to meet him : all the veterans, to whom the Dictator had given settlements either in the country, or in the municipal towns, came and join'd young Cæsar : and he march'd towards Rome, attended by a numerous army, which augmented every instant.

All these warriors breath'd nothing but vengeance, and complain'd bitterly of Anthony, who in their opinion was much too mild with the Murtherers. Young Cæsar, whom I shall more frequently call Octavius, was of their opinion : but perceiving that the Senate was inclin'd to protect the restorers of liberty, and apprehending a rival in his own party, from Anthony himself, whose age, experience, and known bravery, supported by the consular power, gave him a great superiority over him, he determined to dissemble : and whilst, on the one hand, he encourag'd the hopes and desires of his military partisans ; on the other hand, kept fair with the Republicans, as a trial of his skill, he deceiv'd Cicero.

*He tries
his skill by
imposing on
Cicero,
who joins
him.
C.c. ad
Ant. l.
XIV.*

This sublime genius, but whose courage could not support him in adversity, was at that time in a condition, not unlike despondency. He had only staid in Rome, some few days after Cæsar's death. For as soon as he perceived that affairs were like to take an ill turn ; that Anthony made a great progress towards tyranny, and that the Conspirators every moment lost ground, he retir'd into the country, and dividing his time between his different country-houses, gave a scope to his melancholy reflections on the present occurrences, and seem'd wholly employ'd in providing
for

for his own particular safety, because he almost
despaired of that of the Republic. A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

As nothing escap'd his attention, he could not fail observing Octavius's arrival in Italy: Ep. 5. and he mentions it in a letter to Atticus, dated the 14th of April. A few days after, being near Cumæ, this young man came into his neighbourhood, to the house of Marcius Philippus, his father-in-law: and as soon as he arriv'd, before he had seen Cicero, he sent Ep. 11. him his compliments signifying the esteem and regard he had for him. This was succeeded by a visit, to which Marcius introduced him. It does not appear that any thing very considerable pass'd at this first interview. Cicero only informs us, that his attendants gave him the title of Cæsar, but that his father-in-law did not, and that for that reason he also omitted it: "And I do not think, adds he, that any good citizen could have done otherwise." But he afterwards strangely chang'd his stile. Octavius, who immediately set out for Rome, improv'd this new commenc'd familiarity by frequent letters: wherein he paid great court to Cicero, stil'd him his father, and declar'd that he would not act but by his advice. He by this method in a short time drew him in to have a good opinion of him. "Octavius", says he, wants neither for

¹ Nobiscum hic perhonorificè & amicè Octavius: quem quidem sui Cæsarem salutabant, Philippus non: itaque ne nos quidem: quem nego posse bonum civem. *Cic. ad Att. XIV. 12.*

^{*} Octaviano, ut perspexi, satis ingenii, satis animi: videbaturque erga nostros

*newas ita fore ut pos. velle-mus animatus. Sed quid ætati credendum sit, quid nomini, quid hæreditati, quid *καταρχῆται*, magni consilii est.—Sed tamen alendus est; &, ut nihil aliud, ab Antonio, sejungendus. *Cic. ad Att. XV. 12.**

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

“ sense, nor courage : and I hope that he will
“ have, with respect of our heroes (by which
“ epithet he implies Brutus and Cassius) the
“ very sentiments we desire.” However he
did not absolutely confide in him. His age,
the name he had taken, the quality of Cæsar’s
heir, and the instructions he was likely to re-
ceive from his associates, all serv’d to give
umbrage to Cicero. Yet he concludes, that
he must be supported, if it be only to sepa-
rate him from Anthony.

Plut. Cic.

And in effect, the necessity of opposing An-
thony was the principal inducement for their
union. For as the Consul made it his business,
as we shall find hereafter, to embarrass them
both as much as possible ; they thought it ne-
cessary to write against the common enemy.
Octavius had need of Cicero’s weight and au-
thority in the Senate : and on the other hand,
Cicero could not support his credit with the
foldiery, without the assistance of Octavius.
This therefore was the foundation of that strict
alliance between them, which has been so of-
ten and so justly reflected on in an old con-
summate politician, who suffer’d himself to be
duped by a child.

*His mother
is not able
to prevail
on him to
renounce
his succef-
sion to Cæ-
sar.*

Auct. de
Cauf. cor.
Eloq. c. 28.
Appian.
Nic. Da-
masc. de
infir.
Arg.

This union was in its infancy, when Octavi-
us came to Rome, and found that Anthony
was almost become absolute. However before
he took any measures to claim his inheritance,
or to obtain a public order to authorise his ad-
option, he had a fresh difficulty to struggle
with, in relation to his mother Atia ; who,
besides her natural authority, merited the great-
est regard from her son, on account of the
particular care she had taken of his education.
This lady, in conjunction with her husband
Marcius

Marcius Philippus, and her son-in-law Marcellus, most earnestly intreated her son to renounce a succession and title, which expos'd him to the resentment of the Republican party, to Anthony's jealousy, and to a thousand other hazards. All these representations were ineffectual. The young man kept constant to his principles, and generously ¹ declar'd, that he could never esteem himself unworthy a title, which Cæsar had not disdain'd conferring on him. And all the compliance he shew'd his mother, was to promise to act with great circumspection: therein he kept his word.

The morning after his arrival, he attended G. Antonius, who in Brutus's absence dis-
charg'd the office of Prætor of the city: and made a formal demand of being put in possession of his inheritance from Cæsar. From thence, though the Consul Anthony had not shewn him the least civility, not having even condescended to send him his compliments on his arrival, Octavius went to Pompey's gardens, to pay him the first visit, saying that it was but reasonable that he, who was so young and in no public character, should make some advances to a person who so far surpass'd him in years, and was invested with the principal office in the Republic.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 74.

Appian.
Dio.

*His first
interview
with An-
thony, who
receives
him very
ill.*

Anthony had a double interest to oppose Octavius's progress, and to keep him under: first a lucrative one; for as he had seized all the ready money Cæsar had at his death, either in his house, or at his disposal, and still continued to appropriate different parts of his

^a Dictitans nefas esse, quo visus, * sibimet ipsum videri nomine Cæsari dignus esse indignum. *Vell. II. 60.*

* All the editions have semetipsum: but it is an apparent mistake.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Plot.
Anton.

estates as they best suited his convenience, he had reason to apprehend he should be called to an account by Cæsar's heir: in the next place his ambition was no less concern'd; because a son of Cæsar might become a dangerous rival, and dispute with him the supreme command, which was what he aim'd at. At the same time that he fear'd him in these two points of view, he no less despis'd him on account of his youth. Infomuch that he did not treat him with common civility, but made him wait a considerable time before he admitted him to an audience: and when Octavius very frankly desir'd him to pay him the sums arising from Cæsar's succession, which he had receiv'd, and without which he was not able to discharge the legacies bequeath'd by his uncle and adoptive father's will, Anthony made a jest of his proposal; and by way of friendly advice told him, he knew not the consequence of declaring himself Cæsar's heir; and that a man, so young as he, could not have sufficient experience or friends for such an undertaking.

To this refusal, Anthony soon after added a fresh insult. There was a form necessary for compleating the adoption: which must be ratified in a full assembly of the Tribes. The Consul could not refuse his assistance in assembling the Tribes, and proposing the law. But, though it was merely a matter of course, he procur'd some Tribuns to oppose it, and the affair fail'd, under pretence of its being postponed.

*He wants
to be made
Tribun,
but Anthony
prevents
it.*

Octavius, exasperated at a treatment, which he look'd upon as the highest ingratitude in a friend and creature of his father, only became more

more zealous in the pursuit of his interest: A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44. and finding himself constantly oppos'd by the very person from whom he might have expected assistance, had recourse to the Senate and people. He soon gain'd the Senate's favour, by Cicero's especial assistance, as I have already mentioned, and which I shall have occasion hereafter more particularly to relate. And in order to have some weight Suet. Aug.
c. 10.
Dio. with the people, he would have been glad to have had some rank: and as the office of Tribune was vacant, by the death of Helvius Cinna, slain on the day of Cæsar's funeral, he had a mind to put up for it, and thought he had an opportunity which he ought not to let slip. Although Patrician born, and much under the age requisite for being a Senator, he made private application for the office, and was therein seconded by Ti. Canutius, one of the Tribuns. But Anthony herein again oppos'd his designs, and prevented his succeeding. Octavius now found he had no other method left to become popular, than by shewing his liberality, and by giving treats and festivals: a method which seldom fails succeeding with the multitude.

Octavius, having been presented to the people by the Tribun Canutius, concluded a very He gains
the multi-
tude by his
liberality
and by the
feasts he
gives them. flattering speech, by a promise, not only of discharging the legacy of three hundred Sesterces bequeath'd by Cæsar to each citizen, but to make an addition to it out of his own purse.

He also gave the games instituted by the Dictator in honour of Venus Mater, and in commemoration of the victory of Pharsalia, or according to others, of Munda. There was a society establish'd purposely for the cele-

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Plut. Ap-
pian. Dio.

Cic. ad
Ant. XV.
2.

*Comet dur-
ing Octa-
vius's
games.
Plin. II.
25.*

bration of these games : but the members not caring, or daring to discharge their office, Octavius undertook it, and was at the whole expence, which amounted to an immense sum. He also purposed, conformable to an ordinance in Cæsar's life-time, to erect in the middle of the Theatre, the ^m Dictator's statue, plac'd on a throne adorn'd with gold, and having on its head a crown of precious stones : But Anthony in conjunction with the Tribuns prevented him ; so little did he value shewing his ingratitude to his friend, to whom he was so much indebted, provided he could mortify his rival.

It was during these games, that appear'd that famous Comet, which was esteemed by the ignorant and superstitious vulgar to be the seat of Cæsar's soul. Pliny has preserv'd us the description Augustus gave of it in his own words, which I think will not be disagreeable to the reader. He expresses himself in this manner. “ During the celebration of the
“ games I gave, a bearded star appear'd for
“ seven days, in that part of the heavens
“ which is nearest the great Bear. It rose about
“ the eleventh hour of the day : (an hour be-
“ fore sun-set) was very bright, and visible to
“ every body. The multitude was of opini-
“ on that the appearance of this star denoted,
“ that Cæsar's soul had been receiv'd among
“ the immortal Gods : and for that reason,
“ we plac'd that symbol on the head of the
“ statue, which we shortly after consecrated
“ in the Forum.” In this manner was estab-
lish'd, or rather gain'd credit that impious

Authors only mention a throne and a crown, but they doubtless suppose a statue.

flattery,

flattery, which idolis'd Cæsar. He had, during his life-time, receiv'd divine honours, and they were now continued to him, after his death. But the worship of this new divinity, who could be no longer serviceable to any one, was greatly neglected, and would infallibly have fallen into total oblivion, if Cæsar's adoptive son had not acquir'd the empire of the world. This star became the attribute which characteris'd him in the monuments erected to his honour, and is at this time to be seen on several of his medals.

To supply the prodigious expence requisite to answer the distributions promised to the people, and to defray the charges of the games, Octavius had no other resource than to sell his inheritance, and his very patrimony, even to the effects of his mother and father-in-law, who had at last resolved to enter into his measures, and to assist him to the utmost in the pursuits, they had to no purpose endeavour'd to dissuade him from. When he left Brundisium he carried away some money, which had been paid him by the public receivers there. But this sum probably was spent in his march from Brundisium to Rome. Anthony so far from relinquishing any part of what he had seized, made him pay dearly for the minutest favour, and harass'd him by all the methods he could imagine. It was doubtless by his contrivance that the Senate, by a decree, requir'd an account of the public monies, which Cæsar had appropriated. Several private persons redemanded the lands which the Dictator had taken from them. The public treasury reclaim'd the confiscations of the exiles. And lastly Pedius and Pinarius, coheirs with Octavius,

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

He sells all his inheritance from Cæsar. Difficulties started by the Consul. Appian. Dio.

A. R. 708.
Ann. C. 44.

vius, were obliged to withdraw their fourth, to secure it from the evasions of the Consul: but they afterwards generously relinquish'd it, in favour of the person who was the only hopes of Cæsar's friends and relations. All the Dictator's possessions were therefore sold, and sold under their real value; because Octavius, on the one hand, by obliging the purchasers, made so many partisans; and on the other, he was in a hurry to alienate his effects, that they might be no longer expos'd to his enemy's malice. In this manner young Cæsar shew'd himself the worthy heir of the person whose name he bore; who hazarded every thing to raise his fortune, and set out with ruining himself, in order to attain that distinguish'd rank he afterwards enjoy'd. And in effect, he so far succeeded by this conduct, as to become the darling of the people, and to make Anthony their aversion.

Their falling out and reconciliation. Octavius is accused by Anthony of an attempt to have him assassinated.

The division between them was shortly carried to the last excess. Anthony never ceas'd giving Octavius fresh subject of complaint: and he from thence took occasion to inveigh publickly against Anthony, stopping at the corners of the streets, and haranguing the populace, who assembled round him. His name, his youth, the insinuating and artful turns he made use of, his mild, and at the same time noble aspect, the manifest injustice in Anthony's treatment of him, all concurred to render his cause favourable. The very officers of Anthony's guard, who had all serv'd under Cæsar, and had a veneration for his memory, interested themselves in behalf of his son, and declar'd to Anthony that they should be glad to see them reconcil'd. Such a recommendation was equal to an order, to a person who
entirely

entirely depended on the affection of the soldiery for the execution of his schemes. Whereupon a reconciliation was made; but not being hearty on either side, it was shortly follow'd by a fresh rupture, and fresh attempts were again made, to restore peace between them. The end of all these proceedings was an irreconcilable enmity to each other. Anthony accus'd young Cæsar of having endeavoured to corrupt some of his guard to assassinate him, and he had them under examination before a private committee of his own friends.

Octavius complain'd loudly: he came to the Consul's house to justify himself, but not being admitted, he remain'd at the door, where he with great earnestness endeavour'd to clear himself, insisting on the contrary that it was Anthony, who every day was laying snares for his ruin. However there is great probability of the truth of the fact. Seneca and Suetonius both confirm it: and Cicero, whose authority is unexceptionable, explains himself on that head in a manner which puts it out of all doubt. "The accusation brought by Anthony against Octavius, passes, says he, in the opinion of the multitude for an invention, contrived to ruin that young man, and to plunder him of his effects. But every person of sense and probity believes the thing and approves it." The reason why Anthony had not the affair thoroughly examin'd into, might be, that he saw the people so far preju-

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Sen. de
Clem. I. 9.
Suet. Aug.
10.

ⁿ Multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faciât. Prudentes autem & boni viri & credunt factum, & probant. Cic. ad Fam. XII. 23.

A. R. 708. dic'd in his enemy's favour, that he had no
Ant. C. 44. hopes of being credited.

So wide a rupture could not but terminate in an open war; and accordingly Octavius and Anthony had both recourse to arms, but by no means on equal terms. The first, without any title or authority, had no other recommendation than his name, his money, and promises, to gain over to his party his father's veterans: whereas Anthony not only was Consul, but had legions at his disposal, whose command had been conferred on him by public authority.

*Anthony
sends for
the Macedo-
nian le-
gions into
Italy.*

These were the legions of Macedonia, which Cæsar had intended for the Parthian war. But Anthony having procured, as I have mentioned in the preceding book, the government of that province, to the prejudice of Brutus, chang'd the station of the six legions, which were there quarter'd, and consequently were entirely under his direction. However he gave up one of them to Dolabella, upon his being appointed Governor of Syria, in Cassius's stead. As Anthony's projects were at that time in their infancy, his next scheme was how to bring the remaining five legions into Italy. In order to furnish himself with a pretence, and at the same time totally to strip the Conspirators, he apply'd to the Senate for the government of Cisalpine Gaul, which was then in the hands of Decimus Brutus. But as that assembly would by no means hear such a demand, he appealed to the people: and supported, according to Appian, by Octavius's credit, with whom he at that juncture happened to be under a sort of reconciliation, he obtained his request, and then made over Macedonia

cedonia to his brother Caius, at that time Prætor. Whereupon his first care was to send for the Macedonian legions to Brundisium; and as soon as he receiv'd advice of the arrival of four of them, he set out to put himself at their head.

But before he left Rome, doubtless through *Anthony* a desire of clearing himself of all reflections of *affects* ingratitude to Cæsar, and for which there was *being* but too just a foundation, he erected a statue to *popular.* him in the Rostra with this inscription, *Parenti* Cic. ad *optime merito*, that is, to the father and bene- *Fam.* factor of the Republic. Such an homage paid to Cæsar was an invective against his Mur- *XII. 3.* therers, and tended, as Cicero has remark'd, to make them considered, not as simple Af- fassins, but as Parricides. Nothing could be more disagreeable to the Senate: but Anthony no longer consulted their pleasure. His whole thoughts were bent on ingratiating himself with the multitude, and soldiery. With this view his brother Lucius, who was Tribun, propos'd an Agrarian law, for distributing among the *Dio.* citizens, together with other lands, the Palus *Cic. Phil,* *VI. 12,* *13, 14.* Pomptina, though it had not then been drain- ed. This liberality, which was in a great measure chimerical, procur'd its author four statues; one from the people, with an inscription whereby the thirty-five Tribes acknow- ledged him for their patron; another from the Roman Knights, who gave him the same title; the third was erected to him by the military Tribuns who had serv'd under Cæsar; and the fourth, by the merchants and bankers.

The Consul Anthony himself conducted a *Cic. Phil.* colony to Casilinum a town of Campania, tho' *II. 102.* Cæsar had but very lately settled one there.

A. R. 728.
 App. C. 44.
 Dio. Ap-
 pian.

Cic. ad
 Fam. XII.

23.

*Octavius
 gains his
 Father's
 veterans.*

Cic. Phil.
 III. & V.
 & ad Att.
 XVI.

• Lij: 12: 6.

*Brutus and
 Cassius
 quit Italy
 and go be-
 yond sea.*

And in order to make himself creatures among the citizens of the first rank, he took upon him arbitrarily to bestow the governments of Provinces, or to delay their distribution, as best serv'd his purpose. 'Twas after all these transactions that he set out for Brundisium, the ninth of October.

Octavius perceiving his adversary to set out with so considerable a force, was sensible that he must be ruin'd, unless he could find means to assemble troops for his defence. He traversed Campania, Samnium, and all the parts of Italy where his Father's veterans had received settlements; and by giving them five hundred ^{se} denarii a man, gain'd a great number of them. At the same time he employ'd private emissaries to entice away Anthony's legions; and in a word omitted nothing which might put him in a condition to oppose force by force.

Brutus and Cassius were not drove out of Italy by the war, they quitted it some time before. But as at first they were not determin'd what measures to take, they remain'd a while in the neighbourhood of Rome, in expectation of some opportunity which might favour their return.

The games, which Brutus, in quality of Prætor of the city, was to give the people, flatter'd their hopes. With this view Brutus spar'd no pains or cost to make them magnificent. In the theatrical representations, he introduced hunting of fallow-deer; of which he had collected a great number: nor did he sell, or reserve any, but sacrificed them all to the pleasure of the multitude. At Naples he saw a company of comedians and musicians, which he hired to play for him. And he wrote to his

his friends to engage a celebrated actor, whom Plutarch calls Canutius. In a word he had this affair so much at heart, that he begg'd and intreated Cicero to leave the country, and go to Rome to assist at his games. Cicero neither thought it honourable, nor safe for him to take such a step. And Brutus would have still run a greater hazard in appearing personally there. He durst not venture, but prevail'd on C. Antonius, his colleague, to act as his representative at the games, which were celebrated the beginning of July.

The success was not equal to the hopes of the Conspirators and their friends. The multitude was charm'd with the beauty and order of the festival: they seem'd to regret the donor's absence, and to wish his return. They applauded, they clapt their hands: but they went no further, and ° Cicero complains with some passion, “that the Roman people should
“ make use of their hands in applauding, and
“ not in defending the Republic.” In fact the Roman people had nothing left but the name: being torn by factions, and tyrannised by their rulers: and Anthony's party, the soldiery, and all who had any regard to Cæsar's memory, interrupted the games by making violent noises, till they had silenced Brutus's advocates.

This attempt having failed, Brutus and Cassius were sensible that they had but little prospect of re-establishing themselves, or of restoring with them the ancient form of govern-

° Mihi quo lætiora sunt, eo plus stomachi & molestiæ est, populum Romanum manus suas non in defendenda

Republica, sed in plaudendo, contumere. *Cic. ad Att. XVI. 2.*

A. R. 708.
 AN. C. 44.

ment: and when they saw that the more affairs came to an eclairsissement the greater ascendancy arms gain'd over the laws: that all Italy was divided betwixt Anthony and young Cæsar, and that scarce any one thought of the Republic; that the troops seem'd disposed to sell themselves to which ever of them could bribe the highest; they were at length convinced that in so corrupted a state, the love of justice and an attention to the laws, was a feeble resource, unless supported by force. As the commission, which they had receiv'd to provide corn for the city, had furnished them both with a pretence and means of assembling some ships, the sea became open to them, and they were safe from any interruption in their passage. Brutus therefore went to * Velia, a maritime town of Lucania, to be ready to embark the moment that the situation of affairs requir'd it.

Cic. ad
 Fam. XI.
 3. He remain'd some time in this town, and was there the fourth of August, as appears by a letter of that date, wrote by him to the Consul Anthony, in his and Cassius's name. This letter, which is to be found among Cicero's epistles, discovers a noble haughtiness, and generous audacity, corrected by modesty: and I believe it will not be disagreeable to the reader if I transcribe part of it. It seems Anthony had sent them an insulting, threatening letter; but as they were not to be terrified, they return'd him the following answer. “^p Think
 “ not

* This town lies not far from Cape Polinurus, which still retains its name.

^p Armorum fiducia nihil

est quod nos terreas. Neque enim decet, convenit nobis, periculo ulli submittere animum nostrum. Neque est Antonio

“ not to intimidate us by your military force. A. R. 708.
 “ It would be a reflection on us, to suffer any Ant. C. 44.
 “ danger to get the better of our courage :
 “ and Anthony ought not to think of com-
 “ manding those, to whom he owes his liber-
 “ ty. If we have reason to commence a civil
 “ war, your letter will not prevent us : for
 “ the free are not affected by menaces. But
 “ you very well know that nothing can bring
 “ us to that extremity : and 'tis therefore per-
 “ haps for that reason you assume so menacing
 “ a tone, that our determination may be inter-
 “ preted the effect of fear. To tell you free-
 “ ly our thoughts of you, we could wish that
 “ the Republic might retain its liberty, with-
 “ out any diminution of your rank or forfeit-
 “ ure of your honour. We desire not to be at
 “ enmity with you : but our liberty is dearer
 “ to us than your friendship. We would ad-
 “ vise you to weigh well what you undertake,
 “ and to consider the extent of your capa-
 “ city : and remember, not how long Cæsar
 “ liv'd, but how short a time he reign'd.
 “ Our prayers are, that your councils and de-

Antonio postulandum, ut iis
 imperet quorum operâ liber
 est. Nos si alia hortarentur
 ut bellum civile suscitare
 vellemus, literæ tuæ nihil
 proficerent. Nulla enim mi-
 nantis auctoritas apud liberos
 est. Sed pulcre intelligis non
 posse nos quoquam impelli :
 & fortassis eâ re minaciter
 agis, ut iudicium nostrum
 metus videatur. Nos in hac
 sententia sumus, ut te cupia-
 mus in libera Republica mag-
 num atque honestum esse :

vocemus te ad nullas inimi-
 citias ; sed tamen nostram
 libertatem pluris, quàm tuam
 amicitiam, æstimemus. Tu
 etiam atque etiam vide, quid
 suscipias, quid sustinere pos-
 sis : neque, quàm diu vixerit
 Cæsar, sed quàm non diu
 regnarit, fac cogites. Deos
 quæsumus, ut consilia tua
 Reipublicæ salutaria sint ac
 tibi. Si minùs, ut, salvâ at-
 que honestâ Republicâ, tibi
 quàm minimùm noceant, op-
 tamus.

Z

“ signs

A. R. 703. “ signs may be no less advantageous to the
 Act. C. 44. “ Republic, than to yourself. Otherwise we
 “ hope, provided it be not to the prejudice of
 “ the Republic, that they may turn as little to
 “ your disadvantage as possible.”

’Tis certain this letter did not make a convert of Anthony : but in my opinion it greatly redounds to the honour of those who composed it ; except that the aversion they therein express to a civil war, does not easily coincide with the measures we shall find they took, as soon as they had passed the sea.

Porcia and Brutus's Separation.
 Plut. Brut. Porcia had followed her husband Brutus to Velia : and there she separated from him, never to see him more. She foresaw this misfortune, and was under the deepest affliction : but thro’ the effect of her resolution, her concern was a secret to every body, till it happened to be discover’d by a picture. This was the adieu of Hector and Andromache, painted from the lively and affecting description given us by Homer. Porcia, on seeing a subject, so extremely similar to her own situation, could not refrain from tears ; and she was seen to cry several times that day. A friend of Brutus, nam’d Acilius, from this circumstance took occasion to apply two noted verses, which Homer puts in the mouth of Andromache.

“ 1 Yet while my Hector still survives, I see
 “ My father, mother, brethren, all, in thee.
 “ Alas ! my parents, brothers, kindred, all,
 “ Once more will perish if my Hector fall.

2 Ἐπεὶ, ἀτὰρ σὺ μοι ἑσσι πατὴρ, καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
 Ἡδὲ καὶ τέκνους, σὺ δὲ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης.

Hom. Iliad. VI. 429. 430.

“ Thy

“ Thy wife, thy infant, in thy danger share : A. R. 708.
 “ Oh prove a husband’s and a father’s care !” Ant. C. 44.

POPE.

Brutus allowed the application to be just : but observ’d that he could not properly make use of the same kind of language to Porcia, which Hector uses to Andromache, who advises her to apply herself to her needle, and to attend her household. “ For, ’ added he, though
 “ thro’ the weakness of her sex she is certainly
 “ incapable of atchieving exploits equal to
 “ our’s ; yet, for elevated sentiments, and
 “ an affection to her country, she had certain-
 “ ly as good pretensions to heroism as any of
 “ us.” Porcia return’d to Rome. Brutus cross’d the sea and went to Athens : and Cassius set out soon after.

While they were thus abandoning Italy, Cicero return’d thither. As this voyage has some connection with the general affairs of the Republic, I think it will not be improper to give some account of it.

I have already mentioned the motives which *Cicero sets*
 induced him to leave Rome, and to retire to *out on a*
 his country-houses. There he became a prey *voyage to*
 to his apprehensions, seeing what lengths An- *Greece.*
 thony’s schemes carried him ; and not doubting *Cic. ad*
 but that he would occasion much bloodshed, *Att. XV.*
 under pretence of avenging Cæsar’s death, but *18.*
 in reality to get rid of those who might be any
 impediment to his ambitious views. Nor was
 Cicero’s heart less affected by resentment and

Ἦ ἌΛΛ’ ἔκ ἐμοὶ γ’ εἶπεν,
 πρὸς Πορκίαν ἔπεισι φάναι τὰ
 τῷ Ἐκτοροῦ.

Ἴσον τ’ ἡλακάτην τε, καὶ αἰ-
 φιπόλοισι κέλευε.

Σώματος γὰρ ἀπολείπεται
 φύσει τῶν ἴσων ἀνδραγαθημά-
 των· γνώμη δ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος
 ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀξιτεύσει.

A. R. 708.
A.D. C. 44.

concern, to see the absolute command the Consul usurp'd in Rome, and the ill use he made of it ; by exercising all kinds of rapine and injustice, by breaking through all laws, and oppressing the Senate, without the least regard to decency: insomuch that the Orator began almost to regret the loss of Cæsar. He more than once remarks, that Anthony observ'd infinitely less measures than the person whose orders he pretended to put in execution : and after all, Cicero had some weight with Cæsar, whereas Anthony paid not the least regard to him. “ ‘ I was so well receiv'd, says he, by
“ the Dictator, (whom may Divine vengeance
“ pursue even tho' he is dead,) that, since the
“ Tyrant's death has not restored us our liber-
“ ty, servitude under such a master was not
“ the greatest evil that could befall a man of my
“ age. I am ashamed to confess it: but ha-
“ ving wrote it, I don't care to strike it out.”

With such sentiments, which discover how much self-interest influenced Cicero's actions, one must not be surpris'd to see him abandon Rome and Italy, at a time when his oppressed country seem'd to stand most in need of his assistance. But the danger alarmed him ; and his fears magnified that danger, or at least brought it nearer to his view. For he was not in the case of Brutus and Cassius ; having had no concern in the conspiracy against Cæsar. And tho' in the present situation of affairs he might not have it in his power to do the Repu-

‘ Ita gratiosi eramus apud illum, (quem Dii mortuum perduunt !) ut nostræ ætati, quoniam interfecto rege liberi non sumus, non fuerit

dominus ille fugiendus. Rubeo, mihi crede : sed jam scripseram ; delere nolui. *Cic. ad Att. XV. 4.*

blic any actual service, yet the face of affairs might take a sudden change, and opportunities might offer, which might be luckily improved to the advantage of his cause. These considerations had no weight with him: and from the beginning of April, when he left Rome, to the end of * June, at which time he embarked, he appears by his letters to Atticus to have his thoughts entirely bent on leaving Italy, at least for some time.

D. Brutus's camp in Cisalpine Gaul, or that of Sex. Pompeius in Spain, would have been a very safe retreat for him. But a camp neither suited his age nor character. He sometimes applied to himself, with a small alteration in the words, Jupiter's advice, in Homer, to Venus :

“ Not these, O daughter, are thy proper cares,
“ Thee milder arts besit, and softer wars. POPE.

His aversion to the army, especially in a civil war, was so great, that he absolutely declares, that rather than serve he would suffer a thousand deaths.

With these sentiments, Greece was the only proper place for him ; and he presently determined to make his abode at Athens. He had a particular inducement to fix on that city :

* *In all this space of time, he made but one short appearance at Rome, in order to be present at the Senate, on the first of June. But the terror of Anthony's arms kept him away: and the morrow, or perhaps that very day, he left the city. Cic. Phil. II. 2. n. 128. & XV. ad Att. 8. & 9.*

Τέκνον ἔμὸν, ὃ τοι δίδοται πολεμῆϊα ἔργα.

Ἄλλὰ σὺ γ' ἡμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔρῃα * λόγῳ.

Iliad. l. V. 428. 429.

* *In Homer it is ἔργα γάμοιο, which relates to marriages.*

A. R. 703.
A.D. C. 44

where his son, at that time about one and twenty years old, was then studying under the philosopher Cratippus. Cicero, who tho' an affectionate father, was not so blind as not to perceive the want of natural talents in his son, thought, that by being present he " might assist him in his studies, or at least he might be able to judge, how far he was capable of improvement. After having remain'd a long time in suspense, he at length determined to set out for Athens: and embarking, as I have already mentioned, towards the end of June, he coasted Campania, making short journies, and stopping often. He chose to go by the Streights, rather than by Brundisium, because that city being the rendezvous of Anthony's legions, he thought it not safe to expose his person there: At his setting out he proposed returning to Rome by the beginning of the ensuing year, at which time Pansa and Hirtius were to commence their Consulship.

Cic. Phil.
I. 6.

These two men, who had been Cæsar's creatures and staunch friends, retained a great affection for his memory, and consequently cou'd not love Brutus. But they had a very great regard for Cicero. Particularly Hirtius was in great intimacy with him. And they both had as strong an aversion to Anthony, whose imperious behaviour extremely disgusted them. They appear to have been men of honour, strongly attached to the service of their country, and who paid all due deference to the authority of the Senate. In a word, tho' Cicero sometimes reflects on them in his letters to Atticus,

" Aut proderimus aliquid fieri possit, judicabimus. *Cic. ad Att. XVI. 5.*

he

he had so great a value for them, as to intend returning to Rome, and resume a part in the administration of public affairs, as soon as they entered into their office.

He came to Syracuse the first of August, where he staid but one day. He then continued his voyage, but was drove back by contrary winds to Leucopetra, a promontory of Italy, near Rhegium. Some days after he set out again, and was a second time drove back to the same place. He then receiv'd such intelligence from Rome, as made him entirely change his resolution. He was inform'd, that things seemed disposed to a pacification; that Anthony had given up his pretensions to Cisalpine Gaul; that Brutus and Cassius were at liberty to return to Rome; and that he was a little reflected on for being out of the way. Cicero * thought himself obliged, according to his own testimony, to the Etesian winds, who, like good citizens, had refused to accompany him, when he was abandoning the Republic: or, to speak without a figure, as he had, with great reluctance, taken the resolution of leaving Italy, he was glad to seize the least gleam of hope, which could induce him to believe, that he might safely return to Rome, and appear there with some character. Whereupon he relinquished his first design, and return'd to Rome with all diligence. However he made a short stay at Velia, where were Brutus and Cassius, and conferred with them for the last time.

A. R. 7c8.
Ant. C. 44.

Cic. Phil.
I. 7, 8. &
ad Att.
XVI. 7.

*Changes
his mind
and returns
to Rome.*

* Iratis temporibus, in Græciam, desperatâ libertate, rapiebar: quum me Etesia, quasi boni cives, relinquentem Rempublicam prosequi noluerunt. Cic. ad Fam. XII. 25.

A. R. 703.
AET. C. 44.

Plat. Cic.

Cic. Phil.
I. 12. &
V. 19, 20.

These dispositions to peace, which had so charm'd Cicero, were no more than a finesse in Anthony, who just then finding himself too closely pressed by young Cæsar, pretended to come into the measures of the Senate. Nothing, which the Republicans hoped for, came to pass : and when Cicero arrived at Rome the thirty first of August, he found affairs less disposed than ever to an accommodation. 'Tis true the people expressed a great deal of joy at his return, and that there was so great a concourse of citizens of all conditions, at the gates, to wait on him, that he was detained there almost the whole day in receiving their compliments and congratulations. But for Anthony ; so far from Cicero's having any reason to expect any civility from him, he had cause to fear, from the information he received by the way, the most fatal effects of his resentment : and on that account he durst not be present, the next day, at the meeting of the Senate. However he concealed his suspicions, not to give the Consul offence, as he still preserv'd some outward shew of friendship towards him ; but sent him an apology for his absence, excusing himself that he had not recovered the fatigue of his voyage. Anthony was not to be thus imposed on, and being highly exasperated, either at having missed his blow, or to find himself wrongfully suspected, he could not even contain himself in the Senate, insomuch that he threaten'd to go in person, with workmen, to pull down Cicero's house, and force him to come out. However he was at last appeased at the intercession of the Senators, and accepted of a fine, for the payment of which, according to custom, he exacted sureties.

The

The next day, the second of September, the Senate met again, and Anthony being absent, Cicero came there. 'Twas on this occasion that he delivered his first Philippic, wherein he

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.
Cicero's
first Philip-
pic.

speaks with a great deal of moderation. It is entirely full of complaints, without the least invective. He disapproves of Anthony's proceedings, but without any malice. And concludes with an exhortation and some advice, which might have been very serviceable to the person for whom it was intended. I shall only cite one passage. "I am ^y afraid, says he (addressing himself to Anthony, as if he were present) that not knowing the true path of glory, you imagine it will be glorious for you to be able alone to do more than all the Republic, and that you had rather be feared than loved. If these are your thoughts, you have entirely mistaken the road to true glory. To be dear to one's fellow-citizens, serviceable to the state, to be commended, honoured, esteemed, this is to be glorious: but to make oneself feared and hated, is an odious and detestable proceeding, and a situation which can never be secure, but must be liable to a thousand accidents. Of this the stage affords us an instance: and he * * Atreus.

^y Vereor, ne ignorans verum iter gloriæ, gloriosum putes, plus te unum posse quàm omnes; & metui à civibus quàm diligi malis. Quod si ita putas, totam ignoras viam gloriæ. Carum esse * civem, bene de Republica mereri, laudari, coli,

diligi, gloriosum est: metui verò, & in odio esse, invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum. Quod videmus, etiam in fabulis, ipsi illi qui, *Oderint, dum metuant*, dixerit, perniciosum fuisse. *Cic. Phil. I. 33.*

* I think 'twould be better civibus.

" who

A. R. 708.
A.D. C. 44.

“ who was made by the poets to say, Let
“ them hate me, provided they fear me, dear-
“ ly experienced the folly of such a doctrine.”

*Second Phil-
ippic.*

The whole Oration is in this stile. Which nevertheless so offended Anthony, that from that moment he declared open war against our Orator. He appointed another meeting of the Senate on the 18th of September, and sent Cicero personally a citation to be there, and he there charged him with whatever his malice and resentment could suggest. Cicero had taken care not to obey the citation. He assures us that Anthony's design was to have him assassinated; and that when once he had begun to imbrue himself in blood, he would not be satisfied with a single victim. However, tho' he was not present, he soon answered the Consul's furious charge by his second Philippic; in which after having cleared himself from the reflexions which had been thrown on him, he attacks his adversary in his turn, and taking him from his infancy to his Consulship, paints him in such colours as make him equally an object of hatred and contempt. This Oration, which has always been esteemed a master-piece, and which, tho' composed by a man near sixty three years old, contains all the fire and spirit that could be expected from a man in the prime of life, was never pronounced. Cicero composed it in his closet, and afterwards dispersed copies of it among his friends, who presently made it public.

*Manut.
Argum.
Phil. II.
Anthony on
his coming
to Brundis-
ium, ef-
fends the
sensors by
his patri-
ty.*

Anthony's conduct was a confirmation of his enemy's accusation. When he came to Brundisium, he behaved like a madman, pretending to support his command with as much rigour as if he had been a Consul of the ancient

Re-

Republic, and not the leader of a faction ; and by misplac'd severities inflicted to a degree of cruelty, alienating his soldiers affections, which it was so much the more his interest to endeavour to gain by mildness and gratuities, as the command he had over them was at least very equivocal.

They had not for some time before been thoroughly satisfied with him, because he seemed too remiss in avenging Cæsar's death : and he increased this dissatisfaction, by promising them no more than a hundred denarii *per* man, at the same time that Octavius gave five hundred to all who engaged with him. In order therefore to shew their contempt of so paltry a gratuity, they quitted him abruptly in the midst of his harangue ; which put Anthony into so great a passion, that he leapt from his tribunal, saying " I'll learn you to obey me." And having taken from the Tribuns a list of the most seditious, he put three hundred of them to death ; a great number of whom were Centurions, who were executed before his face, and in the presence of his wife Fulvia, whose bold and violent temper had perhaps a greater share, than Anthony's, in these cruel executions.

This had but an ill effect. The troops, instead of being intimidated, were only exasperated ; and so much the more disposed to hearken to the solicitations of Octavius's emissaries, who dispersed billets thro' the army, wherein they opposed the mildness and generosity of their young Chief, to Anthony's cruelty and fordidness. The Consul was inform'd of it, and endeavoured to compel his soldiers to deliver up these secret agents for his adversary.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Dio. Ap-
pian.

Cic. Phil.
III. 4. 10.
& V. 22.

A. R. 728
Ant. C. 44.

*He comes
to Rome
with the
legion cal-
led the
Larks.*

Cic. ad
Att. XVI.
S. Suet.
Cæf. 28.
& ibi Ca-
faub.

Cic. Phil.
I. 20. &
V. 12.

*He there
strikes a
terror.*

Cic. Phil.
III. IV. V.

versary. But they were determined not to be-
tray them, and Anthony was not able to get
at the knowledge of any one of them. He
now began to be sensible that he had taken a
wrong method with them, and that it was ne-
cessary he should endeavour to regain their af-
fection, which his severity had alienated. He
in some measure succeeded, and the main part
of his army put itself in march, pursuant to
his orders, along the Adriatic coast, for Rimi-
ni; whilst he, at the head of a legion, call'd
the Larks, march'd to Rome. This was ori-
ginally a Gaulish legion, raised by Cæsar in
that country: the very name it bore, *Alaudæ*,
or *Alaudarum legio*, was Gaulish, and was given
it because the soldiers of that legion wore a
lark on their helmets. They were all made
Roman citizens by Cæsar, for their signal fer-
vices. Anthony had a particular affection for
them, insomuch that he promoted several of
them to civil employments: and for which he
is very justly reproached by Cicero.

With this legion under arms he march'd in-
to Rome, and ordered a guard to be mounted
at his house, in the same form as in a camp.
One may guess how much this alarmed the in-
habitants of that great city, and particularly
the Senate. Nobody doubted but that he came
purposely, not only to make himself absolute
in Rome, but to reek his vengeance on his ad-
versaries, all of whom he accused, especially
Cicero, of having been concerned in the mur-
dering of Cæsar. He had explained his in-
tentions on that article more than once. Speak-
ing of the Tribun Canutius, who in concert
with the principal men of the Senate, assisted
Octavius to the utmost of his power. “ This

“ ^z man,

“² man, said he in a full assembly of the A. R. 7c8. Ant. C. 44.
 “ people, thinks to be supported by a set of Cic. ad
 “ men, who, if I live, will never be able to Fam.
 “ support themselves in the city.” And on XII. 23.
 another occasion he repeated the same threat in
 more express terms, declaring “ that ³ nobody,
 “ unless they were victorious, must expect to
 “ live.”

This was therefore no imaginary danger, and Troops as-
 Octavius by delivering therefrom both the city sembled by
 and Senate, did them an important service, for Octavius.
 which he could not be too much commended, Dio. Ap-
 if his views had been honest and upright ; and pian.
 if, from being the saviour of the city on this
 occasion, he had not soon after become its ex-
 ecutioner. ’Tis certain that at that time it was
 requisite for his interest that he should oppose
 Anthony ; and therefore whilst the latter was
 gone to Brundisium, he assembled a body of
 troops, which Appian says amounted to ten
 thousand men ; and by Cicero’s advice march- Cic. ad
 ed towards the Capitol, in hopes to be there be- Att. XVI.
 fore Anthony. He was so : and his faithful ^{8.}
 Canutius having convened the people, Octa-
 vius delivered an harangue, wherein, after ha-
 ving summed up Anthony’s unjust proceedings
 in his, and the Republic’s behalf, he declared
 that he came to protect his country against a
 cruel oppressor.

This discourse was very agreeable to the mul- He is forsa-
 titude. But the soldiers, who imagined they ken by the
 were brought thither to be the mediators of a greatest

² Canutium apud eos sibi
 locum quærere, quibus, se
 salvo, locus in civitate esse
 non posses.

³ Nisi qui vicisset : victu-
 rum neminem. *Cic. Phil.*
 III. 27. & V. 20.

part of
them. But
recovers
them by
his pru-
dence and
re-
mildness.

A. R. 708.
A. D. C. 44.

reconciliation between Cæsar's friend and his heir, or perhaps to act against the enemies of his memory, were highly offended to find themselves mistaken in their opinion. They could not consent to draw their swords against Anthony, who had formerly been their commander, and was then Consul. They therefore demanded their dismissal from Octavius on various pretences, tho' some made no scruple to tell him the veritable reason of their discontent. Young Cæsar behav'd with remarkable prudence under so disagreeable a circumstance. As he had no right to detain them, so far from shewing any concern at their forsaking him, he consented to every thing, took no notice of the bad excuses made him by several, endeavoured to convince and satisfy such as told him the truth, thank them all for their escort, and promised that they should still feel the effects of his liberality. By this mild behaviour he regain'd three thousand of them on the spot: the rest soon repented having quitted him, and return'd to him in crowds. However as he at first found his forces greatly diminished, he thought it not prudent to wait for Anthony in Rome: but marched away with all expedition towards Ravenna to assemble more troops, and be nearer his agents who were dispersed among Anthony's legions, endeavouring to debauch his men.

Three of
Anthony's
legions
come over
to Octavi-
us.
Cic. Phil.
III. IV.
V.

Every thing succeeded to his wish. Not only the veterans settled in the several towns and villages of that part of the country he traversed, readily ranged under his banners, but an entire legion of Anthony, called the *martial legion*, being on its march, stop'd at Alba, and declar'd for Octavius. Another (which was the

the fourth) soon after followed its example : and Anthony receiv'd an account of this second desertion, just as he was going into the Capitol, to preside at an assembly of the Senate, conven'd by his orders on the 28th of November. His intent at this meeting was to procure a decree to the prejudice of young Cæsar : but this accident broke his measures. He therefore presently dismissed the assembly, and immediately set out to join the legions which still continued in his service, for fear they should also desert. Tho' his forces were thus diminished, yet it did not prevent him from marching towards Cisalpine Gaul, in order to recover the government of that Province which had been conferred on him by the people, but which Decimus Brutus was in possession of, by virtue of a decree of the Senate. This latter was fully determined not to quit his possession : and was therein supported by all the Republican party, who had no other asylum in all Italy. Thus after many dissensions and disputes, broke out the civil war : nor indeed was it possible that so many violent quarrels could be determined any other way than by dint of arms.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Anthony leaves Rome and undertakes to make himself master of Cisalpine Gaul, which D. Brutus was in possession of.
Cic. ad Fam. XI. 5.

The numbers on each side were by no means equal. Anthony had still remaining, besides his guard, three legions come from Macedonia, and a considerable number of new levies. Decimus had at the most but three legions, two of veterans, and one new raised. But the inequality was still greater between the Generals. Anthony had both experience and courage: Decimus, tho' he served a long time under Cæsar, has no great reputation in history, as a warrior.

The forces of Anthony, of Decimus, and of Octavius.
Appian.

As Octavius had five legions at his disposal,

351 JULIUS V. and ANTONIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 718.
Ant. C. 44.

*Octavius
tenders his
service to
the Senate
against An-
thony.*

to wit, the two he had inveigled from Anthony, one of new troops, and two which chiefly consisted of veterans, but were intermixed with new recruits, he had it in his power, with these forces, to turn the balance on which side he pleased. But he was embarrassed in his determination. He hated Decimus, and feared Anthony. It was indecent for him to take the part of a person who had been concern'd in his father's murther, and yet he could not help resenting the extream ill usage he had receiv'd from Anthony. Besides he was under engagements with the Senate, and he had need of the authority of that august body to support him, and to justify his taking arms. He therefore determined to pursue the rout he had set out in: and without making any direct advances to Decimus, wrote to the Senate to offer them his service, with the five legions he had assembled in Alba. Nor was this all. For when his troops presented him the Fasces, and entreated him to take the title of Proprætor, he declared that he would accept of no title of honour and command, but from the authority of the Senate. At the same time he took care, by a proper bounty, to secure the legions which had forsaken Anthony: he reviewed them, and afterwards gave them five hundred denarii a man, with a promise of five thousand more after victory.

*They accept
his offer.*

*Twould have better pleased the Senate, if those legions, when they forsook Anthony, had entered into the Republic's service, instead of Octavius's. But this was not a time to make such a discovery. They accepted Octavius's offer with great thankfulness, and promised to authorise him the first time the Senate sat,

which they believed could not be before the first of January. This answer must have been made by some of the Prætors and Tribuns, in conjunction with a number of the most eminent Senators. For Rome was at that time in a kind of anarchy. Without any Consul, Dolabella having been some time gone into Syria : Brutus and Cassius, whom we may reckon at the head of the Prætors, had crossed the seas : and affairs were so embroiled, that there were no hopes of bringing them to any regulation, till the new Consuls commenced their office.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Cicero most probably had a great share in the answer which was return'd Octavius. He had spent the months of October and November at his country-houses, to avoid Anthony's resentment. As soon as he knew that he had left Rome, he return'd there the 9th of December, under stronger engagements than ever with Octavius. Not that he entirely confided in him : the contrary appears in all his last letters to Atticus. He plainly saw that if this young man got the better of Anthony, Brutus would be in danger. And he was absolutely persuaded that, on Brutus's safety, depended that of the Republic. Nevertheless, from the almost daily application Octavius made to him by letters, wherein he protested that he would be entirely directed by his advice ; from the sollicitations of their common friends ; and above all, from the consideration of the danger with which Anthony threatened him and the Republic at the same time, he was prevail'd on to return the following answer to ^b Oppius, who

Cicero's last engagements with Octavius.

Cic. ad Fam. XI. 5.

Cic. ad Att. XVI.

14.

XIV. 2.

XVI.

A a strongly

^b Dixi Oppio, quum me hortaretur ut adolescentem, totamque

A. R. 703.
A.D. C. 44.

strongly importun'd him to declare for young Cæsar. "I cannot consent to your request, unless I am assur'd, that Octavius, not only will not be an enemy, to those who have kill'd the Tyrant, but that he will be a friend to them." Oppius engaged for him. "Where then is the hurry? says Cicero, I can be of no service to Octavius before the first of January: and he may, the tenth of December, convince me of his intentions, by consenting that Casca enter into the office of Tribun of the people." This Casca, who had been nominated for this office, was the person who gave the first blow to Cæsar, in the manner I have related. Octavius kept his word with regard to Casca; upon which condition, Cicero was under an obligation to observe the same punctuality with Oppius.

A decree of the Senate which authorises Decimus and Octavius's military preparations.

Cic. ad Fam. XI. 6. & Phil III. & IV.

The new Tribuns of the people, entering into their office, as usual, the tenth of December, conven'd the Senate the twentieth of the same month. Cicero was there one of the first, and his presence drew thither a great many other Senators; so that there was a very full house. The Tribuns proposed to recommend it to the Consuls elect, Hirtius and Pansa, to take the necessary measures that the Senate might assemble with safety, the first of January; and moreover they gave the Senators leave

tamque causam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset, eum non modò non inimicum tyrannocionis, verùm etiam amicum fore. Quum ille diceret ita futurum, Quid

igitur festinamus? inquam. Illi enim meâ operâ antè Kal. Januarias nihil opus est. Nos autem ejus voluntatem ante Idus Decembres peripiciemus in Casca. *Cic. ad Att. XVI. 15.*

to offer whatever they should think agreeable to the present situation of the Republic. The same day there was set up in Rome a declaration from Decimus, notifying his intention, to keep Cisalpine Gaul, in obedience and subjection to the Senate, and to the Roman people.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Cicero made use of the liberty allowed by the Tribuns, and comprised in his opinion the whole system of the present affairs of the Republic. He was not satisfied with giving a charge and power to the Consuls elect, to appoint a guard to protect the Senate; observing that this unusual precaution would be a slur on Anthony, on whose account it was taken. He attack'd him personally, and drew him in the most odious light; declaring that he ought no longer to be considered as Consul, but as a public enemy. He commended Decimus, who intended to oppose him: and extoll'd young Cæsar's services to the skies, who had preserv'd the Senate and the whole city, from slaughter and destruction. Lastly he concluded that they ought to approve and authorise, by a decree, all that either of them had done, and should thereafter do, in opposition to Anthony; adding that it 'twould be proper, to confer honours on those commanders, and to reward the soldiers, who stood up in the defence of the Republic and the authority of the Senate; and for that purpose, to give it in charge to the Consuls elect, to move this affair at the next meeting of the Senate, which was to be on the first of January.

This advice was followed: and Cicero, who was the author of it, when he came out of the Senate, mounted the Rostra, and gave the people, who were there assembled, an account

356 JULIUS V. and ANTONIUS, Consuls:

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

of the decree which had passed the house. He handled the same points afresh before this new audience, but still with the same fire and energy, and his discourse met with uncommon applause. These two Orations delivered the 20th of December, one in the Senate, the other before the people, are his third and fourth Philip-
pics.

*Anthony
besieges De-
cimus in
Modena.
Appian.*

Anthony answered Cicero's orations, and the Senate's decree, by facts. He push'd on his enterprise, and having soon compelled Decimus, who found himself not in a condition to keep the field, to shut himself up in Modena, he besieged him there.

*State of the
Republican
party in
Italy.*

Such was the situation of affairs, that in all Italy the Republican party, supported by the whole authority of the Senate, had no other troops but Decimus's, that it could entirely depend on. Anthony was at open war with him, and he receiv'd but a very uncertain assistance from Octavius, which might soon become more fatal, than it was then useful. This same party acquir'd considerable forces, in Greece and in the East, under Brutus and under Cassius, and with incredible dispatch.

*Brutus and
Cassius go
to Athens.*

On leaving Italy, these two Republican Chiefs had form'd their scheme of entring into the governments of Macedonia and Syria, which had been given them by Cæsar, ratified by the Senate, and afterwards taken from them by Anthony. They were immediately receiv'd at Athens with all imaginable honours; and the Athenians erected statues to them, which they placed by those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had formerly delivered Athens from tyranny. Cassius did not stay long there, but departed to try his fortune in Syria. Brutus,
be-

Dio. l.
XLVII.

being thus left alone, seem'd for some time to be wholly employ'd in his favourite studies, with the most celebrated Philosophers of the Academy, and Lyceum, Theomnestes and Cratippus. But his real thoughts were bent on war. He began by engaging all that flower of the Roman youth which was at Athens, imbibing knowledge at the fountain-head of all arts and sciences. These were officers which he designed for the troops he should afterwards raise. The most noted among them were young Cicero, and the poet Horace, whose father, tho' no more than a freed-man, and a collector of the taxes by profession, but being a man of solid sense and elevated notions, gave him an equal education with the Senators children. As for Cicero's Son, Brutus after having examined him, commends him much, in a letter to his father. "I am so well satisfied, says he, "with your son, from his application and "perseverance, from his greatness of soul, and "punctual discharge of all his duties, that he "seems never to forget whose son he is. . . . "Be persuaded, that to attain honours equal "to your's, his father's glory will be his least "recommendation." And in fact it appears by several passages in Cicero's letters concerning his son, that this young man had a generous and honest heart: insomuch that, tho' no very shining genius, he might have supported the glory of his name to a certain pitch, if

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.
Plut. Brut.

Brutus engages the young Roman students into his service; among others Cicero's son and the Poet Horace.
Hor. Epist. II. 2. & Sat. I. 6.

• Cicero tuus sic mihi se probat industriâ, patientiâ, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus nunquam dimittere videatur cogitationem, cujus sit

filius. . . . Tibi persuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloriâ tuâ, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. *Ep. ad Brut.* II. 3.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44
Plin.
XIV. 22.

he had not afterwards stupified himself with drink. When Brutus acquir'd an army, he gave him a commission of rank, and made Horace a legionary Tribun.

*He in a
short time
raises a
powerful
army, and
makes him-
self master
of Greece,
of Macedo-
nia and the
adjacent
countries.*
Cic. Phil.
X. Plut.
Brut.
Dio. 1.
XLVII.
Appian.
Civil. III.
& IV.

He did not require much time to raise an army. Pompey's veterans, who had fought at Pharsalia, and were still dispersed about the country, readily enter'd under a Chief who defended the same cause. Some stragglers of Dolabella's army, who was already come into Asia, and two bodies of horse which were design'd for that Consul, remain'd with Brutus. A legion, commanded by Piso, Anthony's Lieutenant, came and presented themselves to Cicero's son. But what chiefly strengthened Brutus, was the accession of Q. Hortensius the Deputy-governor of Macedonia, who, in lieu of keeping it for Anthony's brother, gave it up to Brutus, together with the command of all the troops. The Kings and neighbouring Princes of Macedonia imitated Hortensius's example. Brutus also seiz'd a great quantity of arms, which Cæsar had order'd to be made at Demetrias a town of Thessaly, for the service of the Parthian war: and he receiv'd considerable sums of money from the receivers-general. So that in an instant he had ample supplies of soldiers, arms, money, and all other necessaries.

In these cases, 'tis no inconsiderable matter to have made a beginning. Brutus's forces were shortly augmented by three legions, commanded by Vatinius. This man, whose bad morals, as I have already mention'd, render'd him thoroughly contemptible, but who nevertheless was not to be contemn'd as a soldier, had been sent by Cæsar into Illyrica to suppress
some

some commotions there. But the Illyricans courage being raised by Cæsar's death, they gave Vatinius such a check, as oblig'd him to retire to Dyrrachium. During these transactions, C. Antonius, on whom the government of Macedonia had devolv'd by his brother's resignation, arriv'd at Apollonia with seven cohorts: and being inform'd that he had no chance of getting Macedonia, he purpos'd to make himself some recompense, by securing Vatinius's legions. But here again Brutus anticipated him, and got to Dyrrachium before him, where he found the gates shut against him. For Vatinius was Brutus's enemy, both in point of party, and in consequence of the opposition of their characters, than which nothing could be greater. But the troops made no hesitation which of the two Chiefs to prefer. They hated the one, as much as they esteem'd and respect'd the other. And they even gave Brutus, before they enter'd into his service, a remarkable proof of their affection.

He had made a forc'd march cross a country covered with snows. When he came before Dyrrachium, he found himself quite spent for want of sustenance: and there being no provisions to be had among the troops which had accompanied him, they were oblig'd to apply to Vatinius's advanc'd guards, to acquaint them with Brutus's situation, and to beg some supplies from them. Immediately the contest was, who should first procure them the bread, wine, meat, and whatever else they wanted.

Vatinius soon perceiv'd that there was no possibility of keeping troops, thus disposed, under any discipline. He therefore made a virtue of necessity, opened the gates and deli-

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

ver'd up the command of the troops to Brutus.

That I may have no further occasion to mention a man so little worthy of remembrance, I shall here observe, that two years after he obtain'd a triumph, under the Consulship of Lepidus and Plancus. He scarcely deserv'd this honour for his exploits in Illyricum. But the Triumvirs, who then were masters of the Republic, were perhaps glad to reward so old and so faithful a servant of Cæsar.

C. Antonius did not take example by Vatinius, but held out to the last extremity. Perceiving the inhabitants of Apollonia to be entirely devoted to Brutus, he quitted a disaffected city, and marched towards Buthrotum. In his march, Brutus cut three of his cohorts to pieces. Some time after Cicero's son gain'd a fresh advantage over him. And at last Brutus found means to surround him and all his troops, in a boggy country, so that he had no possibility of extricating himself. Brutus's troops were for attacking him : but he stop'd them. " Let us be merciful, said he, to soldiers, which will shortly be in our own service." Nor was he mistaken. Caius's troops, charm'd with their enemy's generosity, put themselves under his command, and even deliver'd him up their General, who by this means became Brutus's prisoner. He was treated with the greatest humanity : insomuch that Brutus permitted him to write to the Senate, and in his letter to take the title of Proconsul.

Cic. ad
Brut. II. 7.

These letters were read in the Senate the 13th of April in the year of the Consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. Brutus and Cassius were still in Italy, the middle of the month of August in the preceding year. So that Brutus employed
very

very little more than seven months to raise a powerful army, and to make himself master of Greece, Macedonia, Illyricum, and Thrace.

Cassius, during this time, made not less progress in the East. He, by his dispatch, divested Dolabella of Syria, in the same manner as Brutus got Macedonia from C. Antonius. Dolabella had set out from Italy soon enough to have prevented Cassius: and besides the dignity of Consul with which he was invested, and the troops which he took with him, rendered him far superior to a rival, who had no other recommendation, than his character, and the merit of his former services in that country, against the Parthians, after Crassus's defeat. But Dolabella was in no hurry: he marched gently thro' Greece, Macedonia and Thrace: and when he came to Asia minor he would not proceed till he had taken it from Trebonius, who was at that time the Governor. Herein he pursued the plan, concerted 'twixt him and Anthony, of stripping all the Conspirators, and appropriating to themselves the spoils.

As he found he could not carry his point by force, he had recourse to fraud. He made the greatest protestations of friendship to Trebonius, and profess'd an uncommon regard for him; and at length so far succeeded, that if he did not put an entire confidence in him, at least he did not guard against him, as against an enemy capable of the most desperate attempt. At a time therefore when Trebonius thought himself safe in Smyrna, Dolabella entered the city by night, and made him his prisoner. And not content with depriving him of his liberty, his government, nor even of his life; under pretence of avenging Cæsar, but from a real motive

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Cassius goes into Syria, whilst Dolabella stays in Asia minor, where he puts Trebonius to death.

Cic. Phil. XI. Dio. Appian.

A. R. 708.
AUL. C. 44

motive of insatiable avarice, without any consideration for his rank of Consul, put him to the torture for two days, to oblige him to discover where the public money was lodg'd : at the end of the second day he order'd him to be beheaded. After the execution, the soldiers, as inhuman as their General, scandalously dragg'd his carcass to the sea, and threw it in. They next carried his head, at the point of an halbert, thro' the streets of Smyrna, and afterwards play'd with it, as with a ball ; rolling it to one another on the pavement, 'till it entirely lost the form of a human head. Trebonius lost his life the first of all the Conspirators : the rest, for the most part, follow'd him soon.

*Cassius
makes him-
self master
of Syria,
and of
twelve le-
gions.*

Whilst Dolabella by so detestable a method got possession of a rich province, but which seems not to have been very well supplied with troops or ammunition, Cassius made himself master of Syria and of eight legions which happen'd to be there, and had been assembled in that country on account of a civil war which had lasted near three years. This war broke out on the following occasion.

Dio. Ap-
pian.

When Cæsar left Syria, thro' which he had pass'd in coming out of Egypt, he gave the command of that province to a young man, a relation, nam'd Sex. Cæsar. He also left one legion with him ; but his age, effeminacy and the voluptuous life he led, prevented his gaining the esteem of his soldiers. Cecilius Bassus, a Roman Knight, a man of sense and courage, and a partisan of Pompey, who, after his patron's misfortune, had retreated to Tyre, thought from this circumstance, that it would be no difficult matter to supplant this new Governor. He began by securing that city : and suc-

succeeded without any trouble; by reason the Tyrians were not well affected to Cæsar, who, conformable to his constant practice of approving of all methods to raise money, not excepting sacrilege, had plundered the treasures of the Temple of Hercules, who was held in great veneration among them. Bassus afterwards attack'd Sex. Cæsar: but meeting with a repulse, he contriv'd to debauch his soldiers, and manag'd his intrigues so well and so luckily, that they at last assassinated Sextus. The legion acknowledged Bassus for their Chief, and in this manner he became master of Syria. But, as he expected not to be long quiet in his new government, he made choice of Apame, a very strong city, and there form'd his arsenal; he also augmented his troops as much as possible, by enlisting every one that offered, even the very slaves. This came to pass whilst Cæsar was carrying on the war in Africa against Metellus Scipio.

Bassus kept his ground during the remainder of the Dictator's life, who did not think this affair of sufficient importance to go there in person. Antistius Vetus by his order besieged Bassus in Apame, and was repuls'd by the Parthians, whom this politic Knight had found means to engage in his quarrel. Statius Murcus, a man of merit sent with three legions from Rome, at the expiration of his Pretorship, to govern Syria in quality of Proconsul, had no better success. He call'd Q. Marcius Crispus to his assistance, who brought him three more legions out of Bithynia: so that with all these forces united, they found it no difficult matter to shut up Bassus in Apame, but

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Cic. ad
Att. XIV.

A. R. 708. but they did not find it so easy to force him
Ant. C. 44. there.

Affairs were in this situation, when Cassius attended by his little convoy landed in Syria. Lentulus Spinther, Trebonius's Questor, had supplied him with some men and money, which he makes a great merit of in a letter to Cicero. But these forces were not at all proportionable to the enterprize. Cassius's name, his reputation, the cause he supported, these were the means by which he at once became master of eight legions. The six of the besiegers were given up to him by the Generals themselves. Bassus, whom Appian reckons to have two legions, to wit that of Sex. Cæsar, and another which he himself had form'd out of the new levies, requir'd a deal of entreaty to give up the command. He thought it very hard that he should have been at all the pains and hazard, and that another should enjoy the fruits of his labours. But not being able to prevent his soldiers sending a deputation to Cassius with a tender of their services, he was oblig'd to open the gates of Apame.

Cic. ad
Fam. XII.
14.

Cic. ad
Fam. XII.
12.

Joseph.
Antiq.
XV. 4.

This first success, so great, so unexpected, was immediately followed by a second of the same nature. Dolabella had sent his Lieutenant Allienus into Egypt, to demand the assistance of Cleopatra, who then was sole Regent, having destroyed the last of the Ptolemys, her brother and husband, by poison. The Queen consented willingly, on account of the regard she preserv'd for Cæsar's memory. She sent Dolabella an Egyptian fleet, and Allienus conducted by land four legions, composed partly of the remains of the armies formerly commanded by Pompey and Crassus, and partly

partly of the Roman cohorts which Cæsar had left in Alexandria. Cassius had notice of this march; he went and met Allienus in Judea, and oblig'd him to give up his four legions. In this manner Cassius found himself at the head of twelve legions, the 7th of March of the Consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, which day the letter he wrote to Cicero, giving an account of these lucky events, was dated.

A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44.

Cic. ad
Fam. XII.
11.

One may judge how great was the Senate's joy when they heard of the forces of Brutus and Cassius. They immediately confirm'd by public authority, conformable to Cicero's advice, the government of the provinces and the command of the armies which they had appropriated, without any other title than their zeal, and the necessity of the times. They invested them with the most ample power that had ever been given any Proconsul: and as Dolabella, on account of Trebonius's murther, had been declar'd a public enemy, the Senate charg'd Cassius to make war against him; with this remarkable clause, that in whatever province he should enter in order to prosecute that war, he should carry a superior command to the governors, or particular magistrates of that province.

He is commission'd by the Senate to make war with Dolabella, whom he reduces to such straits that he kills himself.
Cic. Phil. X. & XI.

To conclude at once Dolabella's history, I shall observe that he soon closed his life in a manner worthy his presumption and ambition. Notwithstanding he was assisted by Cleopatra, by the Rhodians, the Lyrians, and some other people of those parts, he still found his forces far inferior to Cassius's. Liberty, that endearing sound to the Romans, and the authority of the Senate determin'd, in favour of the latter, all the Romans which were settled in Asia minor

Appian.
Dio.

A. R. 78.
A.M. C. 44.

nor and Syria. By this means he was reforc'd by several squadrons of vessels, which were put into his hands by their commanders, and of them he form'd a numerous fleet, and put Statius Murcus at the head of it. Serapion also, the Governor of the isle of Cyprus for the crown of Egypt, but who appears to have been in an opposite party to Cleopatra, and perhaps had some attachments with Arsinoë her sister, sent Cassius some supplies.

Cic. 2d
Fam. XII.
14. & 15.

Nevertheless Dolabella, blinded by his avarice, undertook to recover his government of Syria. He had also taken the resolution, in case he should not succeed there, to embark his troops on board some transports, he had collected for that purpose, and go and join Anthony in Italy. But he soon found the impossibility of executing this design. Two important cities, Tarsus in Cilicia and Laodicea in Syria, still held out for him. To the latter of these cities he went, and there fortified himself; but was soon followed by Cassius, who came and besieged him, both by sea and land. They had several engagements, which always prov'd to Dolabella's disadvantage: and at last the city was deliver'd up to Cassius's troops by treachery. Several of the sally-ports were left open to the besiegers, by which they entered, and made themselves masters of the place. Dolabella perceiving himself near falling into the hands of his enemies, and apprehending he should be treated in the same manner he had serv'd Trebonius, order'd a slave, in whom he could most confide, to kill him. The slave obey'd, and then stabbing himself with the same sword, fell dead at his master's feet. Cassius order'd Dolabella's corpse to be honourably interred,

interr'd, being of opinion, that humanity A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44. would not allow him to retaliate the outrages, which had been exercised on the body of the unfortunate Trebonius. He also treated the officers and soldiers, which had serv'd under Dolabella, with great mildness, and tho' they had been declar'd public enemies as well as their Chief, yet he rather chose to augment his army with them, than strictly to put in execution the Senate's decree: he therefore enlisted as many as would enter.

It may not perhaps be improper on this occasion, to make mention of the horse Sejanus. The horse Sejanus.
A. Gell. III. 9. This was a horse of extraordinary beauty, and said to be of the same breed, as the horses of Diomedes King of Thrace, which were fed on human flesh, and which Hercules, after killing Diomedes, took to Argos. But this fine horse was reckon'd unlucky to his masters, because all, thro' whose hands he pass'd, came to an unhappy end. The first was one Cn. Seïus, from whom the horse was call'd Sejanus, which is as much as to say Seïus's horse. This Seïus was executed by Anthony's order. Dolabella, having heard speak of this extraordinary horse, had a mind to purchase it, as he went by Argos in his way to Syria; he did so at the price of a hundred thousand Sesterces. l. 781. 15. We have just seen what was the end of him. From him he pass'd to Cassius, and from Cassius to Anthony: and these two, as well as Dolabella, were reduc'd to a necessity of killing themselves. From hence this horse became a proverb: and in order to express a man uncommonly unfortunate, they said that he had the horse Sejanus.

A. R. 708.

Ant. C. 44.

*State of all**the Roman**armies: the**dispositions**of their**command-**ers.*

I return now to the public transactions. One may perceive by the foregoing facts that, in the year succeeding Cæsar's death, all the forces of the Roman empire Eastward from Greece, were devoted to the Republican party. Cornificius supported the same interest in Africa, and was attached to the Senate, to Cicero, to Brutus and Cassius. Sex. Pompeius, who in the course of the same year, made himself master of Sicily, thought more of establishing his own particular authority, than of restoring the public liberty. But as he was a declar'd enemy to Cæsar's memory, and as, in case Brutus and Cassius had succeeded, he had neither sufficient merit, nor forces, to prevent their pursuing their own measures, he may be reckon'd in the same party. These were the armies and the Chiefs who supported the Republican faction; and if all these forces could have join'd D. Brutus, and acted in concert in Italy, the Republic had been sav'd. But they happened not to be ready in time: and an inevitable delay was the cause of their destruction and the ruin of liberty.

Westward, of three Generals, who at the head of three armies rul'd in Gaul and Spain, two were but little to be depended on, and the third was too far off to be of any assistance to Italy. Lepidus, Proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis, and Citerior Spain, was a man of much ambition and little genius, without principles or resolution, but ill affected to the Republic, and who had no other view than to aggrandise himself; this man, but from the circumstances of the times, would never have made any extraordinary figure in life. Plancus, Proconsul of Gallia major, who jointly with
D.

D. Brutus was in nomination for the Consulship, A. R. 708.
Ant. C. 44. had sense and parts : but, as he promised much and perform'd but little, there was no confiding in him : he was not so ill-intention'd as Lepidus, but as little disposed to hazard his fortune for the public cause. Pollio, Proconsul of Ulterior Spain, differ'd from them both. He was eminent for his genius and courage, and tho' he had been formerly attach'd to Cæsar, yet he still retain'd a tinge of the Republican spirit. But he was too remote to be engag'd in the center of affairs : they were decided without him ; and that he might not be entirely useless, he thought himself obliged to follow Anthony's colours.

All these Generals, from all parts of the empire, were attentive on Italy, wherein, besides the three armies mention'd above, severally commanded by Decimus, Anthony, and Octavius, the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa were raising fresh forces, as I shall relate, as soon as I have finish'd what little remains to be said of the year in which Cæsar died.

I have hitherto taken but little notice of those pretended prodigies, with which antiquity abounds, as they are commonly either false, or alter'd in the relation, or natural effects which the ignorance of causes has transform'd into surprising wonders. But 'tis impossible to pass over in silence that remarkable weakness in the Sun's rays during the whole year of Cæsar's death. Every body is acquainted with that beautiful passage of Virgil, wherein it is mention'd.

Paleness of the Sun during the whole year of Cæsar's death.

A. R. 708. " The Sun the fate of Cæsar did foretel,
 Ant. C. 44. " And pitied Rome, when Rome in Cæsar fell:
 " In iron clouds conceal'd the public light,
 " And impious mortals fear'd eternal night.

DRYDEN.

Not only Virgil and all the Poets of that time, but the gravest Historians attest this phænomenon. The spots, which our Astrologers have discovered, by the telescope, in the Sun's face, explain it : and 'twas no more than an incrustation, which being thicker than ordinary, was more difficult to be dissolv'd.

Ser. Isauricus's
 death. A
 remarkable
 instance of
 his gravity.

Dio. l.

XLV.

Val. Max.

VIII. 5.

In this same year, Dio mentions the death of Servilius Isauricus, a venerable old man, who had liv'd ninety years, in a constant state of good health and a perfect use of all his faculties. He had been honour'd with the Consulship, Censorship, and a triumph, and was father of that Isauricus whom Cæsar took for his Colleague in his second Consulship. The abovementioned Dio and Valerius Maximus have thought it worth their while to transmit to posterity a remarkable circumstance in his life. As he was passing by the Forum he saw a criminal arraign'd, and the witnesses under examination. Whereupon he came forward, and addressing himself to the Judges, who were much surpris'd to see him interest himself in an affair, wherein he did not seem the least concern'd, he said to them : " I know not who that man is, nor
 " wherefore he is accused. I only know that

" Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam,
 Quum caput obscurâ nitidum ferrugine textit,
 Impiaque æternam timuerunt secula noctem.

Virg. Georg. I. 466.

I

" I

“ I met him one day in a narrow way, he on A. R. 708.
 “ horseback, and I a foot ; and that, not only Ant. C. 44.
 “ he did not dismount, but pursued his way,
 “ without so much as stopping, or shewing
 “ me the least mark of respect. I therefore
 “ submit it to you, Gentlemen, whether what
 “ I have alledged against him, ought to have
 “ any weight in the sentence you are going to
 “ pronounce.” Whereupon the Judges, ac-
 cording to the testimony of the above authors,
 would scarcely hear the prisoner’s defence, but
 unanimously condemn’d him, imagining him
 capable of any thing, who could fail in respect
 to such a man as Servilius Isauricus.

I now proceed to the year wherein Hirtius
 and Pansa were Consuls.

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